



BRILL

## Editorial

It is our regular policy to publish in each year's issue of *GRMS* a selection of papers from the previous year's Moisa conference, but the unusually late date of the conference in 2014 made it impossible to do so this time, and the papers will be published elsewhere. This situation is unlikely to occur again, since (as I'm happy to report) we plan to publish two issues each year from 2016 onwards, and depending on the timing of the conference, papers that were presented there will be published in either the first or the second issue of the following year. Another consequence of this development is that we shall be able to publish a larger number of articles which did not originate at Moisa conferences, and we welcome submissions and proposals from all scholars with an interest in our field, whether they would consider themselves as specialists in it or not.

The topics of the articles in this issue are as diverse as ever. Of the two papers concerned with instruments, the first continues the series of articles on the contents of the "Musician's Tomb" in Daphne which began in *GRMS* 1 (and of which we shall hear more in later issues); it is a detailed reconsideration of the stringing of the harp found in the tomb. The second article could hardly be more different, offering, as it does, a wide-ranging study of the history of the bagpipe. These are followed by four articles based primarily on texts, one focusing on a fragmentary play by Euripides, one on Aristoxenus' *Rhythmics*, one on Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, and one on the introduction to the pseudo-Plutarchan *De Musica* by Carlo Valgulio—a set of writings spanning some 1800 years. The final article examines the forms of early theatre buildings in Athens and Syracuse, drawing mainly on archaeological evidence, some of which has emerged very recently.

The two reviews in our Book Reviews section are followed by Timothy J. Moore's reply to the review of his book on Roman comedy which appeared in *GRMS* 2. We do not normally publish replies to reviews, and this should not be thought of as setting a precedent. But on this occasion the case put to me by the author struck me as compelling, and I agreed to make an exception.

My sincere thanks, as always, to my colleagues on the Editorial Board and the staff of our publisher, Brill, all of whom have been unfailingly helpful.

*Andrew Barker*

# Restraining the Daphne Harp

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## Abstract

This paper reconsiders the stringing of the late fifth-century harp whose remains were found in the “Musician’s Grave” in Daphne. It comments on the suggestions made by Hagel in GRMS 1 (2013), and offers a different interpretation.

## Keywords

Ancient Greek music – archaeology – harp – Daphne

## 1      **Introductory Remarks**

The person buried with the Daphne harp was a young adult who died almost certainly during the Peloponnesian war, perhaps even as a consequence of warfare. The burial goods in the tomb show clearly that he (or she) was interested in poetry and music,<sup>1</sup> but possibly he (or she) was also an instrument maker. This last point could explain the presence of a saw and a chisel in the tomb as well as the complete absence of any trace of the lower string carrier (the yoke): it is possible that the harp was not yet complete when the person died, and that the saw and chisel were added for eventual completion in the underworld.

The presumed date of the tomb not only agrees with the vase pictures of spindle-harps (430-410 BC), but also with the time of Agathon,<sup>2</sup> the young tragic poet of Plato’s *Symposium*, who won his first victory in 416 BC, and who—according to Plutarch<sup>3</sup>—introduced the chromatic scale into tragedy.

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1 Pöhlmann, E. (2013).

2 Agathon, born c. 445, died towards 400 at Pella.

3 Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 3.1.645de.

So it is quite convenient to assume a partially chromatic tuning for the harp, as does Hagel:<sup>4</sup> he adds *b flat*, *c sharp* and *f sharp* to an otherwise diatonic scale.<sup>5</sup> This enables a few chromatic tetrachords in the ancient sense, e.g. *f d c# c* or *d b bb a*, as well as modulation between various diatonic scales, but the choice of just these three notes (*b flat*, *c sharp*, *f sharp*) among the five 'black keys' appears a little arbitrary if they are not derived from our music of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The compass of Hagel's scale, two octaves plus a fifth (*d-a*)<sup>6</sup> is certainly a good choice.

A more serious problem is the assumption of equal string diameters throughout. Hagel observes rightly that, in the case of equal tension, equal diameters should result in string lengths that increase exponentially towards the bass. The triangular shape of the spindle-harp, however, allows only for an increase that is essentially linear. This divergence must then be compensated by higher tensions in the upper middle range,<sup>7</sup> if diameters are kept equal, and this consequence appears clearly in Hagel's diagrams (pp. 167/170). So the strongest forces would be exerted near the weakest point of the yoke (i.e. in the middle part)—certainly a disadvantage for such a delicate instrument,<sup>8</sup> but not a serious obstacle. The main problem is that in the low and high ranges of the instrument, a poor tone quality would result from Hagel's stringing, as will be discussed in the sections below. However, the assumption of equal string diameters is by no means necessary. Hagel derived this assumption mainly from the fact that the holes in the upper string carrier all have the same diameter of c. 0.8 mm. This, however, means only that (possibly for economy) the same drill has been used and that the string diameters should not exceed 0.8 mm. On my own harp, built after models of the Italian Renaissance, the holes in the tuning pegs all have the same diameter of 2.5 mm, but the string diameters vary from 1.8 mm (C) to 0.4 mm (c').

A second argument for the assumption of equal diameters is based on a passage of the *Problemata physica* ascribed to Aristotle. This passage states that on triangular harps two strings produce an octave concord, if one of them

4 Hagel, S. (2013), especially 169.

5 Because of the lack of a flat symbol, *b flat* is denoted by *bb* in this article.

6 Based on Aristoxenus, *Harmonica* 1.20.

7 Given fixed length and tension for the longest and the shortest string.

8 On the Daphne harp, the construction of the resonator is really ingenious: an increase in string tension is counterbalanced by an increased tension of the sound-hide (the belly), as well described by Terzes, C. (2013). The principle is similar to that of violin bows developed by Tourte in the 18th century.

has half the length of the other and if equal stress (*epitasis*) is applied to them.<sup>9</sup> Hagel argues (p. 163) that—in the case of equal *tension*—modified diameters would result here in an interval other than an octave. This is true, if *tension* designates the *tensile forces*. But it is not true if *tension* is understood in the proper sense of *tensile force divided by cross-sectional area* (N/mm<sup>2</sup>): strings of equal length and equal material—but of different diameters—all break at the same pitch (breaking tension) and, before breaking, produce the same note if the tension proper is equal.<sup>10</sup> This means that diameters may well be changed, if tensions—in the proper sense—are kept equal, while the tensile forces are changed accordingly. This is not to say that the author of the *Problems* used the term *epitasis* in the modern technical sense of *tension*, but probably the concepts of *tension* and *tensile force* were not clearly separated.<sup>11</sup> Thus Hagel's argument is not as stringent as it may appear at first sight.

Furthermore, Hagel observes (p. 164) that in the case of equal diameters only one specific pair of strings with a length ratio of 1:2 will produce an octave concord under equal tension, since on the triangular harp, a normal tuning (i.e. in parallel octaves) must compensate for the linear development of string lengths by changes in tension.<sup>12</sup> This observation is perfectly correct, and therefore we must assume that the statement in the *Problems* is probably not meant to specify a general rule, but rather to give more or less typical examples. Analogously we should assume that, even if *epitasis* in the *Problems* means *tensile force* in the strict sense, there should exist at least one pair of strings with length-ratio 1:2 and equal diameters which produce an octave concord when stretched with equal forces, but not that this holds for the whole range of the instrument.

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9 Aristotle, *Problems* 19.23.

10 Indeed the formula of Taylor shows (cf. section 4) that two strings of equal length  $l$  and equal material (i.e. of equal density  $\sigma$ ) arrive at the same pitch (frequency  $f$ ), if the ratio of the tensile force  $F$  to the cross-sectional area  $\pi \cdot (d/2)^2$  remains constant, i.e. if the proper tension  $F:[\pi \cdot (d/2)^2]$  does not change. This is achieved, if an increase of diameter  $d$  is balanced by an increase of  $\sqrt{F}$ , i.e. of the square root of the tensile force  $F$ .

11 It should have been noticed in antiquity (or at least have been the natural assumption) that two threads of the same type (equal material, equal diameter, used side by side) can carry double the weight of what a single thread can bear, and that the same holds for other factors than two. This comes close to the notion of *tensile force divided by cross-sectional area*. It is well possible, however, that the term *epitasis* refers here to simple feeling (without more exact measurements).

12 Note that in the case of equal diameters *tension* and *tensile force* are equivalent with respect to the comparison of strings.



The reader will notice that my stringing and tuning suggestions<sup>13</sup> in the upper register provide single pairs of strings that come very close to these properties, in particular the shortest string and its lower octave, although the whole plan has been derived without respect to this feature. On the whole, it appears clear that the passage of the *Problems* should not be taken as a base for general deductions.

## 2 Tensile Forces in Practice

In the first place we have to ask, which tensile forces were applied to the strings of historical plucked instruments. For instruments with equal string lengths (such as ancient lyres) this will be shown here by the example of the Renaissance lute,<sup>14</sup> for instruments with different string lengths by the example of harps mainly of the 16th century.

A tension table for lute strings (catalogue Dr. K. Junger, Pyramid, Bubenreuth) covers tensile forces from *c.* 18 N to *c.* 40 N, for the highest strings (*d'* and *g'*) even up to 49 N; this includes extremely low and extremely high values. Recommendations are (for string length 63 cm and  $a'=415$  Hz) 25 N in the bass and middle range and up to 37 N for the highest string (catalogue B. Kürschner, Taunusstein). Sometimes slightly higher values may result in a better sound, as I have found in several experiments with similar instruments,<sup>15</sup> 36 to 45 N on a vihuela (63 cm string length,  $a'=440$  Hz) and 33 to 44 N on a baroque guitar. So far we may conclude that tensile forces below 17.5 N have proved to be unpracticable on lutes and similar instruments and that even 20 N constitute an unusually low value. Therefore, the seven longest strings in Hagel's plan exceed the range that seems tolerable on a delicate and lightly strung instrument such as the Renaissance lute. They are obviously too slack.

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13 Given in sections 4 and 6 below.

14 Since in Hagel's stringing plan, the longest strings are very slack and since the Renaissance lute makes use of the slackest possible (but acceptable) bass strings, the comparison makes sense. Furthermore, lute strings must work well at least up to the seventh fret, even in the bass courses: when stopped there, the vibrating length is almost equal to that of the longest string of the Daphne harp.

15 For the calculation of tensile forces etc., I have used both the old slide-rule of Djilda Abbott and Ephraim Segerman (still sufficient for this purpose) and a C-program that I wrote about 20 years ago (the latter in connection with my own harp). Anyhow, expressions such as 25 N should be understood as *c.* 25 N in this context.

The principle of lute stringing is (i) to apply—as far as possible—equal tensile forces to the strings, (ii) to choose for the highest strings slightly greater forces and diameters, so that these strings do not become too thin and break too early, and (iii) to lightly slacken the low strings, so as to expand the range to two octaves (or more). The principle of harp stringing, however, is completely different: since the differences in pitch are primarily obtained by differences in string length, the longer strings must be stretched more strongly (longitudinally), so that the resistance to plucking (transversally) becomes more or less even throughout the entire range and that the vibrating string does not touch the neighbouring strings. The shorter strings, however, must be slackened in order to reduce the resistance to plucking and to allow for thinner strings: an acceptable sound quality requires a string diameter that does not exceed 0.5% of its length, otherwise the string becomes too stiff.

The lightest harp stringing I found is that on a Gothic model<sup>16</sup> with 24 strings built by Rainer Thureau: the tensile forces range from c. 17 N for *f''* to c. 70 N for *B flat*.<sup>17</sup> Similar low forces can be found on the model of an Arpa Doppia of the Italian Renaissance built by David Brown: c. 18 N in the treble (*b''*) to c. 83 N in the bass (*C, D, E*).<sup>18</sup> Also Spanish harps of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries in essence followed this scheme, but occasionally they were furnished with thicker and stronger strings in the treble.<sup>19</sup> All this shows that for harps, too, tensile forces below 20 N must be regarded as problematic and below 17 N probably as unacceptable. Again the seven lowest strings in Hagel's plan appear too slack, but, above all, the lower tensile forces should be associated with the higher strings, not vice versa.<sup>20</sup>

16 The term *Gothic*, introduced by Curt Sachs for this type of harp, is still today in common use, although *early Renaissance* would perhaps fit better. It is the type known from pictures of van Eyck, Memling, Bosch, van Meckenem and others.

17 Stringing of 1988, Judy Kadar; tuning partially chromatic with *b* plus *b flat* and *f* plus *f sharp*. For another Gothic harp with 24 strings, tuned diatonically, higher forces have been recommended, from c. 27 N for *e'''* to c. 177 N for *c*, so by Kürschner, B. (1991b), especially 189.

18 Stringing of 1988, Judy Kadar; almost the same values I chose for my Renaissance model: 20 N (*c'''*) to 83 N (*C*).

19 Cf. Najock, D. (1995).

20 On the spindle-harp the strings are shorter than on the models compared here, but the relation between longest and shortest string is similar. So our conclusion is not affected.

### 3 Loading Level<sup>21</sup>

For instrument makers there is a rule of thumb that a string should be stretched to 20% to 50% of its breaking tension, if it is to sound well.<sup>22</sup> These limits, however, are often extended in order to gain additional notes in the treble and bass regions—even if the sound quality is affected to some extent. So for the highest string of the Renaissance lute (*g'*) a gut string with a diameter of 0.40 mm is recommended, resulting (with 60 cm string length and  $a'=440$  Hz) in a tensile force of c. 36 N, and this corresponds—normal material and twisting presupposed<sup>23</sup>—to about 82% of the breaking tension. In this case, however, stronger material is preferred.<sup>24</sup> It is less twisted and either made of lamb gut or only the outer and smoother layer of normal sheep gut,<sup>25</sup> so that only 67% of the breaking tension are reached. This value agrees rather well with the upper limit used by Hagel, i.e. a minor third below the breaking tension. Indeed a string of normal material with a diameter of 0.40 mm and a length of 24 cm at its breaking tension (i.e. stretched with c. 44 N) would produce the note *c''*; if it is tuned a minor third lower, to *a''*, the tensile force is c. 31 N corresponding to c. 70% of the breaking tension. Other diameters, e.g. 0.80 mm, yield the same result.

Next the lower limit of the loading level must be examined. For this purpose I will start again with the 6-course Renaissance lute, because for this instrument the extreme possibilities of gut stringing have been exploited. Since metal-wound strings must be left out of account (they were invented about

21 In this article, the expression *loading level* designates the tensile force actually applied to a string divided by the force at the breaking point. This ratio is equivalent to the ratio of actual tension to breaking tension (where *tension*, in the technical sense, is understood as force divided by cross-sectional area). The ratio is given as a percentage..

22 John Dowland says 'neither too stiffe nor too slacke' with respect to the treble strings, in Dowland, R. (1610), 14.—The range of 20% to 50% necessarily refers to modern European gut strings, which all—as Hagel points out—have suffered from chemical treatment. I have been told, however, that in Morocco certain gut strings are produced in the traditional way (i.e. more or less in the same way as in antiquity) and that these strings are both stronger and more flexible than modern European ones of equivalent diameter. This means mainly that normal ancient gut strings will be sufficient (or even better) where for modern stringing quality I or high-twist strings must be recommended.

23 Quality II gut, breakage at ca. 382 N / mm<sup>2</sup>.

24 Quality I gut, breakage at ca. 451 N / mm<sup>2</sup>.

25 Kürschner, B. (1991a), especially 126 (splitting of layers) and 127 (lamb gut). The splitting of layers, developed in the 18th century in the region of Markneukirchen, cannot be assumed for classical antiquity, but the use of lamb gut may well have been known.

AD 1660), for the lowest note (*G*) a string of double twist (catline) with an equivalent diameter of *c.* 1.36 mm is recommended for historical stringing.<sup>26</sup> This yields—string length and pitch unchanged—a tensile force of *c.* 27.5 N, i.e. even in the case of less strong material<sup>27</sup> only *c.* 5.6% of the breaking tension of an equivalent normally twisted gut string. However, the breaking tension of catlines is *c.* 30% below that of equivalent normal gut strings, and that of high-twist strings (sometimes called Florentiner) even 40% below.<sup>28</sup> So the *G*-string, if highly twisted, can reach *c.* 9.3% of its breaking tension. We must take into account, however, that the sound of such a string on the lute was apparently regarded as very dull: to each of the three bass strings a thinner string in the upper octave was often added.

To summarize, we can state that the optimal range of *c.* 20% to 50% of the breaking tension in practice was extended to *c.* 10% to 70% and that near these limits special material had to be used, if the sound quality should remain acceptable.

As mentioned above, Hagel's stringing plan does not exceed the upper bound of 70% of the breaking tension, but is this also true for the lower bound of 10%? A normal gut string with a diameter of 0.80 mm has a breaking load of *c.* 206 N, a highly twisted one of *c.* 124 N. 10% of these values are 20.6 N or 12.4 N respectively. This last value is, as far as can be gathered from Hagel's diagram (p. 170), that of the lowest string (no. 1); thereafter the tensile forces slightly increase and reach 21 N with string no. 8. Therefore, the first seven strings fall outside the approved range of 10%-70%, if normal material is used (as supposed by Hagel). If high-twist strings are used, they fall just into this range, but at a very low level. It should be mentioned that according to Hagel's diagram even the highest strings (nos. 12-26, normal material), stretched with *c.* 24 N to 32 N, reach only *c.* 11.4% to 15.2% of the breaking tension. This slackness would be a disadvantage for tone quality.

For comparison the related data of the above mentioned lightly strung harps should be regarded. On the Gothic harp of Rainer Thureau the loading level ranges from 19% of the breaking tension in the low region to 26% in the treble, on the Arpa Doppia of David Brown from 17% in the bass to 31% in the treble.<sup>29</sup> In both of these cases I have assumed quality II for the high and quality III for the low regions. On my own harp (Italian Renaissance style), the percentage

26 For catlines the outer diameter is *c.* 7%-10% greater than for equivalent normal gut strings.

27 Quality III gut, breakage at *c.* 314 N / mm<sup>2</sup>.

28 Letter of B. Kürschner of April 1988, with a table of breaking tensions for diverse materials.

29 Except only for 11.3% for BB'.

would range from 9% in the bass to 54% in the treble, if normal material (quality II) had been used throughout, but in the bass I use catlines and high-twist strings so that the effective percentage in the bass octave ranges from 14% (*C*, not optimal) to 29% (*B*), surpassing 20% from *G* upwards. Compared with these light, but practically tested stringings which prove to work well, the longest strings of the Daphne harp, if chosen as in Hagel's diagram, must be considered too slack for a good sound, and a major part of the short ones must be considered both too slack and too thick.

#### 4 Application to the Daphne Harp

The above considerations almost automatically lead to an adequate stringing of the Daphne harp. Its longest string (42.3 cm vibrating length) should have had—as indicated by the holes in the upper string carrier—a diameter of 0.80 mm (or a little less) associated with a breaking load of c. 192 N, while the shortest string (11.2 cm) should be associated with a diameter of c. 0.40 mm and a corresponding breaking load of c. 48 N, all with normal material (quality II, low twist). A diameter of 0.40 mm was almost certainly the lower bound in antiquity,<sup>30</sup> being close to the lower bound even today. Taking 20% of the breaking load for the longest string, we arrive at a working load of 38.4 N and at a pitch near modern *d'*, while taking 50% for the shortest string we arrive at a tensile force of 24 N and at a pitch near modern *a'''*. So the harp would—as suggested by Aristoxenus and maintained also by Hagel—cover the maximum range used on a single instrument, two octaves plus a fifth. However, the tensile forces recommended here would—unlike Hagel's—yield an optimal (or close to optimal) tone quality. While the absolute tensile forces decrease towards the treble strings, the used percentage of the breaking force increases, as on historical models which prove to work well. The relation of string diameter and string length, too, corresponds to the recommendation mentioned in the previous section: it is 0.2% for the longest and 0.36% for the shortest string. Since the Daphne harp allows for this optimal (or close to optimal) stringing, it must be regarded as corresponding to a very well developed model—a view supported by the delicate construction of the resonator.

In antiquity, harps were appreciated for tone quality more than other instruments, as can be deduced from Aristotle, *Politics* 8.1341a37: '... the instruments aiming at the pleasure of those who listen to the players, *heptagona*, *trigona* and *sambyka*'. Instead of *heptagona* I would prefer to read here *epigoneia*, since

30 Kürschner, B. (1991a), 130.

an instrument called *heptagonon* is not mentioned elsewhere,<sup>31</sup> but a harplike *epigoneion*, named after the musician Epigonus, is attested by Athenaeus 4.183c-d. So all of these charming instruments were harps (or harplike). Another passage of Athenaeus, 4.183e, shows that the *trigonon*—although less popular than in 430/410 BC—was still used in the 2nd century AD: during the symposium of the *deipnosophistai*—with a dramatic scene of about AD 200—the musician Alceides of Alexandria reports<sup>32</sup> that a certain Alexandros—another citizen of Alexandria who died shortly before—gave a concert in Rome on the *trigonon*, which was so successful that most of the Romans even remembered his melodies. This instrument must have had a good sound. So both passages, Aristotle and Athenaeus, suggest that the Daphne harp was an instrument strung according to the principles of good sound quality.

Having roughly established the diameters of the longest and the shortest string, it remains now to determine those of the intermediate ones. For this purpose a glance at the formula of Taylor may be helpful. This formula states that

$$F = f^2 * l^2 * d^2 * \pi * \sigma$$

where  $F$  is the stretching force applied to a string (measured in N),  $f$  the frequency (Hz),  $l$  the vibrating string length (m),  $d$  the diameter of the string (m),  $\pi$  the usual circle constant and  $\sigma$  the specific weight or density of the material ( $\text{kg/m}^3$ ).<sup>33</sup> As mentioned above, every upper octave corresponds to doubling a frequency  $f$ , i.e. to factors  $2^1$ ,  $2^2$ ,  $2^3$ ,  $2^4$  in a series of four octaves. This means that the increase follows an exponential curve. Now the above formula—being symmetrical in  $f$ ,  $l$  and  $d$ —shows that, if  $F$  is fixed, an exponential increase of  $f$  can be balanced by an exponential decrease of  $l$  or  $d$  or of the product  $ld$ . If length  $l$  decreases linearly, as on the Daphne harp and some open angled harps of antiquity, the exponential element will appear in the decrease of diameter  $d$  only, whereas in the case of curved necks the product  $ld$  is affected, with a preponderance of  $l$  for more or less strongly curved necks (e.g. some Gothic and old Irish harps) and of  $d$  for slightly curved necks (e.g. Spanish baroque harps). Furthermore,  $F$  cannot be kept constant, it must decay towards the treble and thereby might also contribute a little to an exponential development. However, on the historical harp models examined above (Gothic and Renaissance types), the tensile force  $F$  decreases in a fairly linear way. The same holds for another model built by David Brown (early Renaissance, F-c'"') and for the copy of an

31 West, M.L. (1992), 78. Cf. LSJ.

32 His long speech begins 4.174b.

33 This version of the formula is used by Junger, K. (1991).

open angled harp built by Bill Campbell (old Egypt, G-f", cf. next section). For all of these harps, the graphs of the string diameters resemble more or less the typical neck curvature, thereby contributing to an exponential increase of frequency  $f$ . Only on the Gothic harp of Rainer Thureau the string diameters decrease more linearly, obviously because the neck curvature comes close to an exponential outline.

To summarize, we may conclude that the diameter graph of the Daphne harp should show a curvature similar to that of a markedly curved harp neck. For the tuning proposed by Hagel, I would suggest the following diameters: 0.79, 0.73, 0.70, 0.68, 0.66, 0.62, 0.60, 0.58, 0.56, 0.54, 0.52, 0.48, 0.48, 0.46, 0.46, 0.44, 0.42, 0.42, 0.42, 0.42, 0.42, 0.42, 0.40, 0.40, 0.40, 0.42, 0.42. This scheme is based on the diameters available from stock. It is about the lightest stringing that can be recommended for the Daphne harp. The diameter curve resembles a curved harp neck, and the tensile forces decrease more or less linearly towards the treble. However, in the highest octave (a"-a'") the loading levels are between c. 50% and 63% (mainly around 60%), if quality II gut is used, and greater diameters would not help to reduce these values.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, quality I gut should be preferred in this register: then the loading levels are between c. 42% and 54% in this octave, and the thin strings would have a longer life. It is also possible to enhance durability by choosing slightly greater diameters in the treble, e.g. by 0.04 mm, but precaution must be taken that the shortest string does not become too stiff.

## 5 Comparison with an Egyptian Angled Harp

In the museums of Cairo, Paris (Louvre), Berlin and New York (Metropolitan), there are four Egyptian angled harps with a straight resonator and without a forepillar, the longest of them with an overall length of 132 cm.<sup>35</sup> The harp of the Metropolitan Museum is 113 cm long and had—as the instruments in Paris and Berlin—21 strings. A copy of this instrument, made by Bill Campbell (Port Townsend, Washington), is now in the possession of Judy Kadar (Berlin), where I was able to examine it. The strings have lengths from 100.5 cm down to 21.2 cm and diameters between c. 1.17 mm (longest string) and c. 0.58 mm (shortest string), but the four thinnest strings, i.e. those near the fifth shortest,

34 For a given vibrating length, strings of equal material but different diameters all break at the same pitch.

35 Harps of this type—probably taken over from Mesopotamia—appear in Egypt in the 15th century BC. Later they become dominant and still persist in the Roman period, at least into the 2nd century AD.



measure only *c.* 0.55 mm in diameter.<sup>36</sup> This feature is certainly meant to compensate for the absence of a curved neck: while a curved neck reduces the mass of a string in this region by shortening, a comparable reduction may be achieved by choosing smaller diameters in the case of straight string carriers, where the slight increase of diameters towards the end of the scale contributes to a linear development of the tensile forces.<sup>37</sup> If all diameters (as given below) are plotted in rectangular coordinates against the pitch (G-f" diatonic, equidistant half-tone scheme), a very clear stringing plan appears:

1. Each diameter chosen is used for a pair of adjacent strings (probably for economy).<sup>38</sup>
2. Fitting a curve to these points (*y* = diameter, *x* = pitch) results in a very neat graph of mainly exponential character.
3. If the single stretching forces are derived and plotted in the same way, it becomes clear that the decrease of the stretching force towards the treble is essentially linear (with a certain up and down caused mainly by the pairwise equal diameters).
4. The respective loading levels (% of breaking tension), if plotted analogously, form a rather neat curve, that increases with falling diameters and decreases with ascending ones, but the decrease in the four highest treble strings is more marked.

The most important result of these observations is perhaps that on the Daphne harp, too, the tensile forces should decrease more or less linearly towards the treble and that the absence of a curved neck should be compensated mainly by a similarly curved decrease of diameters.

The sound of the Egyptian harp is pleasant, so that its stringing scheme can be regarded as appropriate.<sup>39</sup> This view is confirmed by the loading levels and

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36 Actually the strings are of nylon, but in this article I give equivalent diameters for gut. The initially measured nylon diameters are 1.29, 1.29, 1.15, 1.15, 0.98, 0.99, 0.90, 0.88, 0.77, 0.77, 0.69, 0.68, 0.68, 0.68, 0.61, 0.61, 0.605, 0.61, 0.62, 0.62, 0.63.

37 Hagel's scheme does not aim at mass reduction in this region, but at an increase of the tensile forces.

38 The principle of pairwise equal diameters is so clear and the nature of the diameter graph so obvious that a few minor corrections of my measurements seem to be adequate, all in the range of  $\pm 0.01$  mm: string no. 5  $+0.01$ , no. 7  $-0.01$ , no. 8  $+0.01$ , no. 12  $+0.01$ , no. 13  $-0.01$ , no. 14  $-0.01$ , no. 18  $-0.01$  mm. With these corrections, the diameters used are 1.17, 1.04, 0.89, 0.80, 0.69, 0.62, 0.60, 0.56, 0.55, 0.57, 0.58, all but the last being used twice.

39 Admittedly, the stringing of the Egyptian harp is a modern reconstruction, but I have been told that according to Bill Campbell, the maker of the instrument, there is not much room for changes in the tuning: *F—es*" would also be possible instead of *G—f*" (both



the relations of string length and diameter. The longest string, which is also the thickest one, is tuned to *G* with a tensile force of 54 N, the shortest to *f''* with a force of 29.4 N and the thinnest (length 37 cm) to *b'* with 41.2 N. With quality II gut, the breaking points of these strings are 411.8 N (longest), 101.3 N (shortest) and 90.8 N (thinnest) respectively, so that the loading levels are 13.1% (longest), 29.0% (shortest) and 45.4% (thinnest). Of these three values only the first is outside the range of a really good sound, but with other material this string, too, can reach levels above 13.1%: with quality III gut it reaches 16%, with cat-line 18.7% and with high twist even 21.9%. So all strings of this harp can be kept within the optimal range of loading levels (20%-50%). The proportion of diameter to string length is everywhere clearly below the critical value of 0.5%: 0.12% for the longest, 0.27% for the shortest and 0.15% for the thinnest string. So the main conditions for an appropriate stringing are fulfilled.

## 6 Tuning

As mentioned above, the tuning proposed by Hagel—diatonic plus *f sharp*, *c sharp* and *b flat*—is a reasonable suggestion. On the other hand, we must be aware that—according to Plutarch—before Agathon's victory in 416 BC only diatonic plus enharmonic were used in tragedy and that these were probably the dominant genera in the time of the Daphne harp.<sup>40</sup> In Plato's *Republic* (398e-399c)—with a dramatic scene of about 421 BC (peace of Nicias)—Socrates discusses six modes, Lydian, Dorian, Phrygian, Iastian, Mixolydian and Tense Lydian, which later have been described exactly by Aristides Quintilianus (*De musica* 1.9) and which all fit into a combined system of enharmonic and diatonic scales. The six modes are these (with *e+* and *a+* indicating a quarter tone above *e* and *a*, all notes in relative pitch only):<sup>41</sup>

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diatonic), but the latter would be a little better, whereas other tunings should be left out of account. In view of such restrictions, the tuning assumed here seems to be rather close to authentic.

- 40 Although the origin of the enharmonic genus should probably be connected with the *auloi* (Olympus) and although *auloi* were the usual instruments in tragedy, I would guess that the enharmonic genus was not restricted to the *auloi* and to tragedy for a very long time, but that other instruments as well as the human voice also made use of it in the 5th century BC. Even the harp is mentioned in connection with tragedy, probably as a tool for composition in the hands of Euripides: E. Schwartz (ed.), *Scholia in Euripidem* 1, Berlin 1887, 5, 14-18, in the *Genos Euripidou*.
- 41 Aristides Quintilianus gives all six modes in notes of the Hypolydian scale, which was often used for didactic purposes. If this scale is associated with modern notes *A*, *B*, *c*, *d*,

Lydian	e + f	a	b b+ c'	e' e+'	
Dorian		g	a a+bb	d'	e' e+ f' a'
Phrygian		g	a a+bb	d'	e' e+ f' g'
Iastian	e e+ f	a	c'	d'	
Mixolydian	e e+ f	g	a a+bb		e'
Tense Lydian	e e+ f	a	c'		

The combined system is:

e e+f    g    a a+ bb    b b+ c'    d'    e' e+ f'    g'    a'

This system, which I discussed in connection with the playing technique of a *kithara* with 11 strings (time of Timotheus),<sup>42</sup> can easily be extended to *a''* by adding upper octaves. Then it will cover two octaves plus a fourth, i.e. almost the same range as assumed by Hagel and, if the whole system is transposed to the upper octave, i.e. to *e'*—*a'''*, it will be very close to the pitches suggested above for the outmost strings of the Daphne harp. However, the full system requires 27 strings, instead of 26. On the other hand, the diagram of the six *harmoniai* shows that *b* and *b flat* never occur in the same scale, and that these are the only neighbouring notes with this property. Therefore, we may assume that one and the same string could be tuned either to *b* or to *b flat*, just as on the Early Renaissance harp depicted by Agricola.<sup>43</sup> Assuming this arrangement in both octaves, we would arrive at 25 strings for the Daphne harp. The resulting scheme would be this:

e' e+ f'    g'    a'    a+ 'bb'/b'b+    c''    d''    e'' e+'' f''    ...    a'''.

Here, the note *d'* may be added at the lower end, so that we arrive at exactly 26 strings and a compass of two octaves plus a fifth. For this tuning, the following diameters may be recommended: 0.79 (*d'*), 0.73 (*e'*), 0.73, 0.73, 0.66, 0.60, 0.60, 0.60, 0.58, 0.58, 0.52, 0.48, 0.48, 0.48, 0.46, 0.44, 0.44, 0.44, 0.44, 0.42, 0.42, 0.42, 0.40, 0.40, 0.40, 0.42, 0.42 (*a'''*). The differences from the scheme given previously for the tuning of Hagel result from the fact that the semi-enharmonic tuning

*e, f, g* etc., i.e. without respect to real (modern) pitch or to historical continuity, in many cases the clearest and most simple renderings of ancient notation are achieved. As to the Daphne harp, this method yields a system just an octave below the real pitch of the harp, certainly a didactic advantage.

42 Najock, D. (1998), especially 13.

43 Agricola, M. (1529), liiii (reprint Hildesheim 1985).

proceeds partially by quarter tones and partially by whole tones, while the string length proceeds by equal steps. Many of the diameters constitute triplets of equal values. Most of them correspond to enharmonic triplets such as  $e'$ ,  $e+'$ ,  $f'$  (*pyknon*). The decrease of the tensile forces is fairly smooth and linear. A second solution would be to use separate strings for  $b$  and  $b$  flat in both octaves and to remove  $a'''$  in the treble. The system would then cover two octaves plus a third.

Although the stringing plans given here, both semi-chromatic and semi-enharmonic, have been derived partially by modern means, they are based essentially on experience, and experience should have led ancient musicians, too, to very similar results. Possibly certain minor features, e.g. the difference between 0.40 and 0.42 mm, were not, or at least not always, taken into account, but the general outline of the diameter curve should have come close to ours. A practical approximation may have been to use a constant diameter in the highest octave, e.g. 0.42 mm, and then to increase gradually the diameters of the lower strings, until c. 0.80 mm are reached with the longest string. These increments should clearly emerge at steps of a whole tone, but they should reduce to zero within enharmonic triplets, while for steps of a half tone intermediate increments should be used. Directives of this type should have led to good results in antiquity.

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# Around the Origins of Bagpipes: Relevant Hypotheses and Evidences

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## Abstract

This article addresses the complex question of the origins of bagpipes. One of the major problems is to determine the defining features of the instrument, as the denomination includes a broad and heterogeneous family. We propose an explanatory typology based on only three main profiles, interrelated but substantially different: circular breathing (initial and polygenetic), the addition of an external pipe bag (documented in some early civilizations), and the medieval one, which leads to the modern European bagpipe (with bag, one or more drones and the morphology that has survived to the present). Attention is also paid to the intense social symbolism that has surrounded the instrument since ancient times. The study reveals that bagpipes had a marginal position in Greco-Roman culture, associated with livestock and beggars; but in the medieval world their roles and contexts expanded unstoppably.

## Keywords

bagpipes origins – circular breath – pipe bag – drone – Classical civilizations – Middle Ages – social symbolism

*Music begins when man discovers himself as a musical instrument.* Since man has existed on earth he has been able to produce with his own body different kinds of sounds. [...] In fact, man is a musical instrument [...] like the *tibia utricularis*, the cornemuse, musette or bagpipe, a single reed instrument with an air reservoir. (Salazar 1953, 9. Spanish original)<sup>1</sup>

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1 Italics original, like all of those present in this paper. All translations from different languages into English are ours, except where otherwise indicated.

## Introduction

Much has been written about the origin of bagpipes. Almost any treatise on the instrument starts with this topic and develops it with varying length and rigour. There are also literary recreations where stereotypes abound, with or without foundation. For instance, there still remain vague beliefs that the bagpipe was invented in Scotland by hardened native clans dressed in kilts, drinking whisky and watching the monster of Loch Ness while performing “Amazing Grace” or “Scotland the Brave” on impressive bagpipes with three vertical drones; or that it came to Galicia (northwest of Spain) through the Iron Age Celts, with their horned helmets and other attachments. Other misleading legends and romantic fantasies also figure strongly in the collective imagination. But there is also a comprehensive and reliable literature around this instrument, which emerges in certain authors and works from the early twentieth century to the present.

Our contribution must begin with the question: What do we understand by the word ‘bagpipe’? In this sense the present paper does not intend to elaborate a classification of the broad family of bagpipes—a task still awaiting specific critical attention—but to establish as far as possible the formal limits of the instrument, as well as to propose an explicative theory of its origins through its most crucial evolutionary traits. To be fair, about the birth and early forms and steps in the history of primitive bagpipes, little or nothing is known. We are dealing with a proto-historic environment, primarily illiterate and whose main legacy—the bagpipe itself—is fabricated in perishable materials that leave no remains after a few centuries (at best). Moreover, in the last decades there have been no new relevant archaeological finds, and for this reason some outdated bibliography is still regularly cited. Hence the title of our article deliberately lacks any claim to conclusiveness and suggests, by contrast, both the thematic heterogeneity of the object of study and the plurality of paths able to lead to useful answers. We shall link our enquiry to the concept of *ethnoarchaeology*, following Both’s proposal for the study of ancient remains from the point of view of popular culture (Both 2009).

In broad outline there is an insurmountable documentary gap prior to the Middle Ages. In the Bible certain wind instruments have been deciphered as remote versions of bagpipes, although conclusions depend heavily on the philological criteria adopted.<sup>2</sup> Available sources are sufficient, however, to ratify a prehistory of the bagpipe as a breathing technique, followed by a first expansion in the Mediterranean area coinciding with the path of Neolithic

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2 As an example see Barry (1904), contested by Moore (1905). There was a last reply by Barry (1908), again in the same journal. This literature is today virtually ignored.

civilizations. Nevertheless very probably the instrument only attained a marginal existence in the ancient world, and lacked any verifiable social resonance. In the synthesis of West:

The instrument [bagpipe] is found over a large area that covers the whole of Europe, western Asia as far as India, and parts of north and east Africa, with many regional variations. It must certainly have had a wide distribution by the early Middle Ages. In Antiquity, nevertheless, it is only scantily documented, and it cannot be said to have played any significant part in the history of Greek music. It may not have appeared at all before the second century BC, and even after that it is doubtful how often it was seen. It seems to have been in the main an instrument of low-class urban mendicants and mountebanks, at first from the Near East. The antiquarian writers of the late second century AD, Athenaeus and Pollux, who are so industrious in listing all the different types of auloi and other instruments that they can find in previous literature, say nothing of the bagpipe. But we know it existed in the Mediterranean world before their time. (West 1992, 107)

### Three Basic Typologies

The study of the origin of bagpipes can be approached from different perspectives, the main ones being geographical, chronological and morphological. Geographically and historically one could talk of the Asian-African,<sup>3</sup> Greek<sup>4</sup> and medieval-European<sup>5</sup> origins of the instrument. But there is much to be said for a multidisciplinary perspective that takes into account the morphological evolution, because it is unclear at what moment and place some of the most

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3 Probably the oldest forms of the basic mechanism of the instrument. It is considered very doubtful that the pipes found at the Royal Cemetery of Ur (ca. twenty-sixth century BC) should be thought of as forerunners of bagpipes (see Lawergren 2000). Likewise Curt Sachs convincingly refuted the current interpretation of a Hittite relief of the thirteenth century BC in the palace of Eyuk, supposedly the first known depiction of a bagpipe (Sachs 1947, 135). Some authors, e.g. West (1992, 107), believe that the instrument was born in Mesopotamia during the Neolithic revolution, and distant relations of bagpipes could also have existed in Ptolemaic Egypt.

4 Possibly with the *askaulos*, to relieve the effort of the performers of reed instruments using circular breathing in the games and festivals of classical Greece.

5 The celebrated 'reinvention' of bagpipes, in the expression coined by Baines (1995, 68). It was then that the instrument acquired its final engineering and appearance.

significant novelties originated. The stages considered below form a sequential series, although they commonly overlap and coexist, as is apparent in an ample iconography starting from the Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

### 1 *Circular Breathing. The Naturalness of Bagpipes*

It may seem strange to cite a breathing technique as a determinant for the original differentiation of a musical instrument, but that is probably where it started: with the ingenious use of the possibilities of the human body to blow uninterruptedly. Although very limited in capacity, the mouth allows a steady stream of sound, keeping the flow into the instrument constant. It works by storing the last air from the lungs by inflating the cheeks, and then pushing it outward while—at exactly the same moment—an inhalation through the nostrils provides new air. Bagpipes were born as an extension of the resource of continuous breathing—exhausting for the performer beyond a certain time—by transforming the buccal cavity into an external container. Some authors emphasize the aesthetic consequence—the so-called ‘Athenaea deformation’—for the Greek performers of aulos who, to prevent it, wrapped their face with a cheek-strap called the *phorbeia* (see Bélis 1999 and Bundrick 2005). Eventually the process developed into a bagpipe:

[I]n line with their ideal of absolute beauty of the great ‘classic’ period, the Greeks needed to solve the problem of the ugliness of aulos players. It is for this reason that they sought for and found the solution of the air reservoir. (Le Moigne 1979, 13. French original)

The origins of circular breathing are usually considered Eastern or Arabic, but it also appears indigenously in Australia and other regions of the globe.<sup>7</sup> This

6 Ours is not the only way to organize the evolutionary trajectory of bagpipes; Sachs (1947) identifies six periods in its history, and Le Moigne (1979) eleven. An anonymous reviewer of this paper pointed out that it should focus mainly on the topics of the essentially European character of modern bagpipes (an important matter we tackle several times); on considering as essential changes those that took place after the Medieval period (see the section ‘Modern bagpipes’); and on the marginal condition of bagpipes in the Greco-Roman world (especially developed in the final part of this paper). Our approach organizes this study along two structural dimensions, the morphological and the time-space one; the former attends to the core elements of the instrument (the three aforementioned stages), and the latter to several complementary strands of evidence from the Classical and Medieval periods.

7 Munrow calls the technique ‘Oriental breathing’ (1976, 10), and Charrier ‘Arabic breathing’. See also Tranchefort (2000 [1980], especially 212–246), Malm (1985) and Connor (2002). Some additional considerations of interest on circular breathing in relation to the first forms of



wide geographical range points to a likely polygenetic and universal origin of the resource. But it was only in Europe that the bagpipe took the final step towards gathering the two most determinant mechanisms: the external reservoir (bag) and the independent drone, hence reinforcing the hypothesis of modern bagpipes' European-ness.

If bagpipes began as an imitation of a natural resource, then the argument by Adolfo Salazar quoted at the beginning of this article is correct. For Salazar, man himself is a bagpipe (1953, 9). Indeed, this instrument requires a very close physical contact with the performer, which accentuates the union of both, as remarked by the Galician piper Pepe Romero:

The bagpipe is not like other instruments—sax or clarinet, for example, sounding out of the person, at a distance from the body. When I play bagpipes I have it fastened to me, enveloping me, almost a part of my body: the bellows under my right arm and against my chest, feeling it like an extension of my own pulmonary bellows, the chanter playing in front of me driven by all my fingers, the bass drone resting on the shoulder sounding behind me, the tenor drone on my left also resting on the forearm, and me in the middle, feeling part of the instrument, with which I sound in unison. (Romero. Spanish original)

We owe to the talent and musical vocation of Leonardo da Vinci an amazing drawing that looks like the plastic incarnation of both Salazar and Romero's thoughts, since Leonardo painted a horseback rider turned into bagpipe (Figure 1).

Leonardo [...] drew a fantastic horseback rider [...]. It is rather a specter-like phantasm, an excursion into the realm of fairy tales [...]. His body has turned into his instrument, the bagpipe; his belly into the bag, his nose into the chanter. Player and instrument are fused into one creature. (Winternitz 1982, 86. See also Winternitz 1969)

Nova believes that it was “a freak” by Leonardo “for the entertainment of his patrons” (1998, 47). Arasse also supports its festive and extravagant character, as well as its purpose: “probably part of Galeazzo da Sanseverino's parade of ‘wild men’” (Arasse 1998, 227). From a more eschatological perspective

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bagpipes can be read in Grauer, where the instrument is associated with Paleo-Siberian vocalism (2006a, especially p. 34), as well as in the reply by Peter Cooke (2006) and the final answer by Grauer (2006b).



FIGURE 1 *Leonardo da Vinci: Masquerader seated on a horse.*<sup>8</sup>

Ronström has emphasized the primitivism and immediacy of the instrument in relation to its constitutive materials:

The bagpipe is generally associated with a long-gone way of life, uncivilized, uncultivated and raw. The *bag*, believed to be a natural stomach, smelling and evoking strong feelings of disgust; the *blowpipe*, connecting the animal-bag directly with the mouth (also this strongly disgusting); the first humorous *sounds from the pipes* while the bag is being filled, reminiscent of other “natural sounds”; the suggestive constant *humming of the drone*; all this effectively connects the bagpipe with the *natural*. The natural is ambivalent: it is the *primitive* as opposed to the *refined* but also the *simple* as opposed to the *artificial*. (1989, 104)

The deep naturalness of bagpipes can be a key to understand its success in pre-industrial societies, where what we call ‘art’ is based on the elements most directly accessible to man. As André Schaeffner wrote:

<sup>8</sup> Image and permission from the Windsor Royal Library. Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2014. From the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci at Windsor Castle, recto: c.1507, verso: 1508-10.

The diversity of instruments is born of the actual union of music with life. It seems that the material condition widens our musical sense. Too limited from the viewpoint of its works alone, music gains from being seen in the naturalism of these instruments as well. (1968 [1936], 9. French original)

In summary, the essence of bagpipes as musical artefacts started from basic elements closely related to the nature of mankind and its immediate resources. This strong symbiosis has remained unchanged over the centuries despite the new features of the instrument, and can partially explain why it became a symbol of rurality and authenticity.

## 2 *The External Bag*

The mechanism of circular breathing is insufficient to ensure a long performance in reed instruments. Hence the ingenious addition of an external bag, which served the functions of the oral cavity but with a much higher capacity, and thus greatly facilitated the performer's task. It initiated a new evolutionary stage.<sup>9</sup> The inclusion of this device was probably an innovation made in rural communities working with livestock: "the idea of combining pipes with a bag must have been natural to herdsmen who had plenty of goats and little water and to whom the hide was familiar as a water bag." (Winternitz 1967, 69). Spanish ethnologist Caro Baroja rejected the theory of an Atlantic-Celtic creation of bagpipes precisely for reasons relating to the nature and placement of the instrument:

The bagpipe has its origin in a pastoral cycle, as evidenced by the material of the bag (made of a goat skin) and its distribution. The bagpipe exists, indeed, in the steppes of Central Asia, North Africa and other predominantly pastoral areas. It is easy to understand that the idea of putting together a pipe and a recipient of skin arose among peoples who possessed flocks and knew this kind of container. The widespread thesis in Atlantic Europe holding that the bagpipe, as a cultural element, is Celtic—a thesis that rests on how popular the instrument is today among peoples of Celtic ancestry: Ireland, Scotland, Brittany, Wales, Galicia—falls for lack of support, taking into account the points mentioned above,

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9 From purely morphological considerations the origin of the organ has been associated with the principle of indirect blowing characteristic of bagpipes, as in Schlesinger, who regards the organ as a result of the merger of the *syrinx* (panpipe) and bellows bagpipe (Schlesinger 1901, 188. See Barker 1984, 259 n. 1).

while in southern Italy, Greece and the Mediterranean islands it exists or has existed. (Cited in López-Acuña and Alonso 1974, 194. Spanish original)

The bag mechanism might have been created within the pastoral communities of ancient Fertile Crescent or Egypt. Several peoples of those regions developed livestock as the basis of their economy, and dominated the technique of leather tanning, which was necessary for transporting water, wine, oil and other products, because once out of the river valleys the climate there is extremely dry and wineskins were indispensable. Nonetheless, other approaches deserve attention; the bag is often mentioned as an invention of Indian origin, around the eighth century BC, although the evidence is precarious.<sup>10</sup> The mechanism would spread over the Indian peninsula to become the *pungi* of snake charmers (Andrés 1995, 197. See Cannon 2002, 4).

Within the relatively broad range that the basic device allows, a widespread modality is the 'bladder pipe' (*platerspiel*, *gaita de vejiga* or *veze*): a reed tube to which an animal viscera (or sometimes a gourd) is added after the blow-pipe, acting as an automatic regulator for air pressure thanks to its flexibility. Currently this instrument survives as a toy or curiosity in some European rural areas where children play it for fun and/or to prepare the way to the complete bagpipe; there are also some revival bands that use it occasionally.<sup>11</sup>

In the Middle Ages the Latin term *chorus* was regularly used with different musical meanings, one of them alluding to a rudimentary bagpipe, with bag but droneless.<sup>12</sup> The instrument was reflected in two miniatures from the El Escorial manuscript of the *Cantigas a Santa Maria* (songs to St. Mary) sponsored by Alfonso X of Castile, an impressive collection completed after the mid-thirteenth century (nos. 230 and 250.<sup>13</sup> In Virdung's and Agricola's

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10 There are authors who believe that this resource originated in the North of Africa, where it certainly became very popular (Mills). Others place its birth in Sumer, from where it might have migrated to Persia and India. Sachs thinks that the Greeks imported it from Asia through the Phrygians in the VIII century BC (1934, 92-93).

11 There are records of its popular use since immemorial times in Galicia (Carpintero 2008). Sachs locates the bladder pipe in Russia in his own generation, used by *cuvaches* (Sachs 1947, 271). Mayer cites bladder pipes as occasional instruments in rural areas of Poland and Albania, while in Brittany and Sicily a rubber ball instead of animal bladder can suffice for the task (1980, 770-771). Currently it can be seen even with an attached drone, which makes it very similar to a full bagpipe.

12 As noticed by Sachs (1947, 269) and Álvarez (1987, 81-82). See the paragraph 'Additional testimonies of the medieval world' for more remarks about this *chorus*.

13 Respectively Codex b I 2 = E1, fol. 209r and Codex b I 2 = E1, fol. 227r.

treatises these pipes, as well as modern bagpipes (*sackpfeiff*), are also perfectly detailed.<sup>14</sup>

More evolved than the bladder pipe is that which regulates the air pressure in the intermediate container, under the armpit. Instead of viscera, an animal skin is ordinarily used, with at least two connected tubes.<sup>15</sup> This archetype probably corresponds to the famous *tibia utricularis* that so much pleased emperor Nero (see below). In *Cantiga* 280<sup>16</sup> there is a very interesting representative within this evolutionary chain: the bagpipe without a separated drone at the back, but with a second parallel tube exercising that function, leaving the way open for the piece to gradually gain independence, backward position and greater length and consequent lower register. In the sequential process we are studying, this pattern can be considered as a transition bagpipe, but it also appears in an ample iconography.

### 3 *The Modern Bagpipe*<sup>17</sup>

Finally we reach the archetype that encompasses most of these instruments today: the full bagpipe born in the late European Middle Ages and perfectly characterized since then in countless reliefs, miniatures and literary quotations, persisting almost unchanged until the twentieth century. It is a reed instrument from the woodwind family, played through indirect insufflation, with single or double reed, in a conical or cylindrical bore, and with the constant support of a normally bass harmonic pedal that provides tonal stability.<sup>18</sup> The number of drones is secondary—one or two for several centuries—but they progressively cease to appear as pipes parallel to or divergent from the chanter, to rest on the shoulders of the musician. The drone differentiated this

14 These well-known sources are just one for practical purposes, because Agricola (1529 [revised 1545]) borrowed most of the contents and images from Virdung (1993 [1511]).

15 In the *Cantiga a Santa Maria* 260 (Códice b I 2 = E1, fol. 235v) the instrument is clearly represented. Survivors of a long historical trajectory, currently the Arabic *jirba* and the Greek *tsaboúna* belong to this category.

16 Códice b I 2 = E1, fol. 251v.

17 The locution ‘modern bagpipe’—repeatedly used in this article—may seem ambiguous and inaccurate. However, given the remarkable stability that this physiognomy of the bagpipe reaches after the medieval period, and given that it is not easy to find a more exact alternative nomenclature—because most of them lead to individual profiles—we believe it is a valid designation of the general type of bagpipe that was developed during the modern period.

18 According to the aforementioned taxonomy, we will not distinguish as separate types the bellows-blown bagpipe, the bagpipe with keys, the musette or the very recent midi chanter, among other modalities regarding bore, compass, tuning and kind of reed.

instrument from more archaic morphological patterns; it represented another turning point in the evolution of the instrument.

Modern bagpipes would spread throughout Europe in the late Middle Ages and subsequent centuries. They were portrayed in the vault of the Swedish church of Härkeberga, in the church of Stepney (near London), in a capital of the Romanesque church of Santa María de Melide (Galicia), in marginal illustrations of the English *Luttrell Psalter* and in the mural paintings of the French churches of Moutiers (Savoy) and Blassac (Auvergne), in all cases in iconography of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries; and these are only a few examples amid the abundance in Europe over this period.<sup>19</sup>

At this evolutionary stage, the fifteenth-century image of the Miller playing pipes in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Figure 2) is very interesting from the perspective of social and popular studies. Boenig holds that in the picture the bagpipe is 'emblematically obscene' (1983, 1), while Block emphasizes the carnality and folk condition of the miller, considering that for Chaucer he must have been a tangible and everyday neighbour: "in describing the bagpiping activities of the Miller, Chaucer was utilizing a homely realism [...] thoroughly normal, familiar, and intelligible to his contemporary audience" (1954, 241). This drawing is one of the first to show the real world of a medieval piper, far from angels and devils.

Were these bagpipes imported, indigenously created or inherited from the past? Baines' remark about the medieval 'reinvention' of bagpipes is frequently cited in references to this period. He points out two options, highlighting the bag as the distinctive and determinant piece:

At some period shortly before the thirteenth century the bag idea must quite quickly have become popular in Europe. It may have been either due to the passage of Near-Eastern entertainers northwards following the Arab, Selyuk, and other conquests; or it may have become reinvented, or resuscitated upon a memory preserved in some locality. (Baines 1995, 68)

The first hypothesis is not unfounded; but Baines alludes only vaguely to the expansion of the Seleucids and related annexationist manoeuvres that took place in the eastern Mediterranean during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This activity greatly alarmed Western Christendom, which would then initiate the Crusades. It is quite possible that the bagpipe was (re)imported

19 More information concerning the medieval iconography of bagpipes can be found in Stephens (1989), including several interesting images.





FIGURE 2 *The Miller from Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Early fifteenth century drawing.*<sup>20</sup>

or (re)discovered from the East during these campaigns. On the other hand, inner Europe was then enjoying an important phase of cultural and commercial growth, associated with the development of polyphony in the context of liturgical music. Although bagpipes are limited in this respect, the conjunction of a stable bass and a free melody probably fitted well with the contemporary musical ear. These economic, cultural and purely musical facts certainly helped their formidable expansion.

20 Image and permission kindly provided by the Huntington Library of San Marino (California), cat. MS EL 26 C 9, folio 34v from the Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's

As for the second of Baines' suggestions—postulating a resurrection of the instrument based on the memory stored in some location—it is quite plausible, but leaves open the question of why Europeans waited eight centuries to remember the bagpipes they had known in the time of Nero. There is a third explanatory theory, conceiving an entirely spontaneous genesis in the European Middle Ages, when “the bagpipe was invented simply as a labor-saving device” (Montagu 1976, 37).

### Location, Potential and Symbolism of Modern Bagpipes

Another pertinent question is where in Europe the final genesis of modern bagpipes took place. This matter has raised countless claims, mostly from nationalist/ethnocentric positions, “written from patriotically centred or otherwise prejudiced viewpoints” (Baines 1995, 13). Probably we shall never know the answer for sure, but if we were to venture a guess, a number of reasons suggest that the instrument was established within the first wave of the Occitan troubadour culture, derived from some forerunner inherited from the Carolingian renaissance and revived under the influence of African and Asian models. The fact is that medieval France had a Mediterranean coast—a window opened to the ancient world including their *askaulos* and *tibia utricularis*; it actively participated in the Crusades and was bounded in the south by the Iberian Peninsula, from where there arrived fundamental scientific and artistic novelties due to the Arab civilization. It was also a transit zone of different routes heading to Santiago de Compostela. It is reasonable to think that perhaps this bagpipe was created there, or at least developed and equipped with its final appearance. The long tradition and variety of the instrument in France reinforce this conjecture, although there is no conclusive evidence.

Nonetheless some supporting data can be put forward. The oldest copy of the celebrated letter of St. Jerome to Dardanus—mentioning the *chorus*—was found in Northern France;<sup>21</sup> the troubadour Peire d'Auvergne mentioned at the end of his *Chanterai d'aquetz trobadors* (ca. mid-twelfth century) that he

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*Canterbury Tales*. It is a miniature illustration due to an unknown early fifteenth century artist showing Robin, the Miller, playing a bagpipe while riding a horse.

21 See in the epigraph 'Additional testimonies of the medieval world' the remarks about this notable document.



had composed the song for *enflabotz*;<sup>22</sup> and the first evidence of a bass drone is French, again in a celebrated troubadour's piece:

[The bass drone] is mentioned for the first time in history in connexion with a French peasant's bagpipe *muse au grant bourdon*, in Adam de la Halle's pastourelle *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion* (c. 1288). (Baines 1995, 107)

Importantly, in the celebrated passage introducing Don Amor, from the *Libro de Buen Amor* by Juan Ruiz (first half of the fourteenth century), bagpipes are called *odreçillo francés* ('French bag', stanza 1233), maybe pointing to the geographical roots of the instrument. Anecdotally, the earliest reference to a bellows-blown bagpipe is in the *Syntagma musicum* by Praetorius (1958 [1619]), where the author states that the instrument is of French origin.

Other theses must be considered. For instance Collinson believes in the continuity of bagpipes from the Roman world to medieval Italy: "the *zampogna* may well be the direct descendant of Nero's *tibia utricularis*" (1975, 46); certainly the *Salterio Polirone* (ca. 1125) shows a clear *chorus* similar to the French and German ones described below. Authors like Padelford and Dietrich have seen an eleventh-century reference to the bagpipe in Riddle 31 from the *Exeter Book* (Collinson 1975, 80-81; see Tupper 1910 and Cannon 1989). Claims for a German, Scandinavian, Byzantine, Galician, Scottish or Irish creation of medieval bagpipes exist, but at present the evidence in favour of the French hypothesis seems more convincing.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, we can be certain that the *Camino* (route) to Santiago was of critical importance in spreading the bagpipes in Europe. The way was a true multicultural network in a continent that lacked good means for communication, the cultural highway of Europe for centuries. It is not possible to understand the evolution of medieval culture without considering its dynamic and fertile legacy, of which the bagpipe is a clear beneficiary.

In a relatively short period of time bagpipes developed their full sonic possibilities and an increasingly accumulated symbolic burden. The piper by Ferrari (Figure 3) shows that in the early sixteenth century the many options for

22 Parker 1977, 187. Remnant also assumes *enflabotz* as bagpipe (2002, 207), and Alexandre clarifies that in the language of troubadours, *bot* or *botz* were parts of the *cornemuse* (1977, 3). See also McGee 1995.

23 Although barely mentioned in this article, Eastern Europe has been a true homeland for bagpipes since Middle Ages. However, in general the instrument has received there less scholar attention than it deserves; further research is needed for this huge region with such a large tradition.



FIGURE 3 *Ferrari: Piper from Saronno.*<sup>24</sup>

combining its different material elements were known and richly exploited, in this case a symmetrical instrument consisting of a bag (ingeniously conceived), double drone and divergent double chanter. According to Collinson this chanter could be a legacy of ancient double reed pipes (1975, 46).

<sup>24</sup> Detail of the fresco of the Sanctuary of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Saronno (Italy). Work by Gaudenzio Ferrari between 1534 and 1536.

In the same years as Ferrari's painting, the bagpipe also exhibited its potential as a catalyst of dense extra-musical narratives, for instance by supporters of the Reformist rebellion (Figure 4). Leaning on its pastoral connotations, the Reformation ('renovator-progressive') was to demonize 'conservative' bagpipes as an emblem of the 'reactionary' papacy. The scene by Schön is an openly offensive allegory against the Catholic institution: the devil is dictating in the ear of the monk the message to be spread among the faithful (via the bagpipe).



FIGURE 4 Schön: *Devil Piper*.<sup>25</sup>

25 Woodcut by Erhard Schön, ca. 1530. Image and permission kindly provided by the Herzogliches Museum of Gotha (Germany), cat. 37,2.

Therefore, in addition to its evolution as a progressively marginal instrument in European high culture—due to its morphological limitations (reduced compass, fixed tonality and dynamics, raw timbre)—bagpipes incorporated into the post-medieval phase a powerful semantic dimension that would become one of its most distinctive differentiating features over the centuries, and within which the extreme polarity of being simultaneously an instrument of angels and demonic is just an example.<sup>26</sup> From the Renaissance onwards, literary and iconographic evidence depicting the instrument multiplies, but it belongs to another historical time, as the bagpipe was by then a reality firmly established in its sound engineering, its representational capacity and its relation to a huge European peasantry who would make of it one of their most beloved symbols.

### Testimonies of the Ancient World

With regard to African and Asian bagpipes—in theory the oldest representatives of the family—presumably they enjoyed a stable and long historical trajectory, with many regional varieties, the presence of certain separate evolutionary lines within basically primary typological patterns and, in the last two centuries, the decisive contribution of influential exchange and hybridization processes worldwide.<sup>27</sup> The problem is, once more, the notable documentary and academic vacuum on these instruments. Further research is needed for these key ancestors of bagpipes.

In classical Greece there might have existed the *askaulos*, a term which literally means bag-pipe. Aristophanes, in his comedy *Lysistrata* (411 BC), quotes near the end a Spartan requesting the aulete to play a piece with an instrument that some authors interpret as a primitive form of bagpipe (1242-6); the Greek word used by Aristophanes is *phusallis* (normally translated as ‘flute’), which could mean animal bladder.

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26 The bagpipes painted by Hieronymus Bosch (in *The Garden of Earthly Delights* or *The Haywain*) would add a striking surrealistic dimension to the history of the instrument at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

27 Alter states about Garhwali (northern India) that currently the only bagpipe used there is the Scottish Highland bagpipe (called *mashak*), which the British army introduced by mid-nineteenth century (Alter 1997). About Asian and African pipes the volume by Baines (1995), first published in 1960, is still the main work of reference.



[A] Spartan character calls to an attendant to take the ‘puffers’ (*phûsâtêria*) so that he can sing and perform one of his native dances. An Athenian endorses the appeal, saying ‘Yes, yes, take up the *phûsallides*’. The first word could refer equally well to ordinary blown pipes or to bellows, while the second is elsewhere used of puffed-up things such as foam bubbles, and would seem more appropriate to something visibly swelling when inflated than to plain auloi. On the other hand, if some sort of Spartan bagpipe is meant, it is hard to see why *phûsallis*, which would denote the bag, is in the plural. (West 1992, 109)

In *The Acharnians* (ca. 425 BC), another comedy by Aristophanes, a passage reads: “You pipers who are here from Thebes, with bone pipes blow the posterior of a dog” (cited in Baines 1995, 63). This rather strange allusion has been widely understood as a reference to the mechanism of bagpipes, the skin of the dog being the bag. Notwithstanding, the device so described is implausible, as Baines remarks: “Even if this coarse allusion is interpreted literally, a dogskin with blowpipe in one end and bone chanter in the other is by no means credible” (Ibidem). Landels must be right when he puts forward that “‘The Dog’s Arse’ was probably a song-title, or a parody of a song-title, and the pipers were probably playing quite ordinary auloi” (1999, 73). Little more can be drawn from here for the history of bagpipes. Moreover, Aristophanes does not directly mention any *askaulos*, either in *Lysistrata* or in *The Acharnians*. In fact, and as pointed out by Andrew Barker, there is a problem about the word *askaulos*: “it obviously is a Greek formation”, but “occurs nowhere in any surviving ancient Greek text”; it “seems likely that the word *askaulos* was used in Greek”, but “there is no direct evidence to prove it” (personal communication, June 2014). The earliest occurrence of a related word (*askaulês*, ‘bagpiper’) seems to be in a passage of Martial from his poem ‘To Priscus’ (see below), five centuries after the Greece of Aristophanes.<sup>28</sup>

In the Roman realm there are a few passages about the *tibia utricularis*, an instrument that must be considered very similar to the alleged Greek *askaulos*. These texts have been endlessly repeated with small variations due to the translators, maybe with additional interest because the piper protagonist is no other than emperor Nero. However, the famous *tibia utricularis* might have been simply an ephemeral whim or fashion starring Nero, and little else. Although two well-known writers—Dio Chrysostom and Suetonius—describe it, it looks strange that over five centuries of being the owners of the ancient world the Romans did not leave more records of this wind instrument. Nero

28 Vendries (2013, 210–211) cites a reference from the Arsinoite nome in the II century AD.

(probably) committed suicide in 68 AD, two years before the birth of Suetonius, who evidently never knew him. Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40-120 AD) possibly also never saw Nero in person, as he travelled to Rome to serve as professor of rhetoric in the time of Vespasian, Nero's successor. Procopius is the only historian to mention the instrument without reference to Nero, in a late passage whose literal interpretation has been contested (see Wardle 1981 and Campos 2007).<sup>29</sup>

Let's consider the passages: the Greek Dio Chrysostom in his *Orationes* (or *Discourses*) describes the *tibia utricularis* as the favourite instrument of Nero and, judging from his brief allusion, it could be a bagpipe. He argues that the emperor could play the pipes both through his lips and by pressing a skin under his armpits. Nonetheless the text is mainly sarcastic and perhaps didactic:

That a man will paint better than the painter when himself not a painter [...] or that he will sing more musically than the musician when unacquainted with the art [...] such is not to be expected. And yet a certain king of our time [Nero] had the ambition to be wise in this sort of wisdom [...] not of such things as do not receive applause among men, but rather of those things for which it is possible to win a crown—I mean singing to the cithara, reciting tragedies, wrestling and taking part in the *pancraton*. Besides they say that he could paint and fashion statues, and play the pipes, both by means of his lips and by tucking a skin beneath his armpits, and so avoiding the reproach of Athena. (*Orationes*, 7. XXI. 8-9. Translation by Collinson 1975, 44)

Particularly teasing is the end of the passage, where Dio asks: "Was he not, then, a wise man?" (*Ibidem*). Commenting on this passage Collinson introduces some valid nuances:

There we have the truth without doubt, that the bagpipe had publicly appeared in Rome. The date was sometime in the second half of the first century AD. Dio Chrysostom's reference to the player's avoidance of 'the reproach of Athena', that age-old facial contortion of puffing out the cheeks to use them as an air-reservoir, is important, for it shows that the bagpipes in question were not just the pan-pipes accompanied by a rudimentary bag-blown drone, as used in Egypt (which now belonged to

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29 Procopius of Caesarea was a Byzantine historian of the sixth century AD. Baines believes that the fragment where this author supposedly mentions a bagpipe refers rather in fact to a war horn (1995, 67).

the Roman Emperor), but a bag providing the wind for a reed-sounded chanter or (more probably) chanters. (1975, 44)

Gaius Suetonius, in *De vita Caesarum duodecim*—contemporary with the *Orationes*—refers to Nero's intention to give a concert with various instruments, the third of which would be the bagpipe:

Towards the end of his life, in fact, he had publicly vowed that if he retained his power, at the games in celebration of his victory against the Parthians he would give a performance on the water-organ, the flute, and the bagpipes and that on the last day he would appear as an actor and dance Vergil's Turnus [in *The Aeneid*]. Some even assert that he [also promised] that he would face and kill Paris to death as a dangerous rival. (*De vita Caesarum duodecim* VI, 54. Translation by Rolfe 1914, 255)

These lines are of great interest if interpreted correctly, as they are almost always transcribed removing the references to Turnus and Paris, which reveal that the intention of Suetonius was primarily satirical, intending—in this fragment as well as in the whole biography of Nero—to discredit the fallen dictator (during whose life a passage like this could have cost the historian his head). Nero is portrayed as a blustering fool who proclaims, close to his imminent fall, that he will give amazing concerts. He is compared with Turnus—king of the Rutulians and loser in Virgil's *Aeneid*, defeated by the hero Aeneas—and promises an imaginary duel with Paris—the coward of the Trojan cycle, brother of Hector and abductor of the beautiful Helen, who refused for fear a combat against Menelaus, the outraged husband. The bagpipe is placed, consequently, at an inferior and burlesque level in Roman culture.<sup>30</sup>

Among the classical texts the third epigram—'To Priscus'—from the tenth book of Martial is of interest; it too belongs to the first century AD. The poem demands the presence of Canus to play the *askaulos*. This fragment is also contemptuous about the figure of the bagpiper:

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30 An interesting question is where Nero's *tibia utricularis* came from. The fact is that he went more than once to Greece and competed with local musicians and poets; maybe he personally discovered and imported the instrument from there. Alternatively, it is also likely that the bustling streets of Rome might host occasional pipers from Greece, Syria or Alexandria, and that Nero might have initially met the instrument by these means (see Wardle 1981 and Piché and Vendries 2001).

The scurrilities of home-born slaves, low railing, and the foul insults of a hawker's tongue, which the broker of shattered Vatinian glasses would reject as the price of a sulphur match, a certain skulking poet scatters abroad, and would have them appear as mine. Do you believe this, Priscus? that a parrot speaks with the voice of a quail, and Canus longs to be a bagpipe-player? Far from poems of mine be black repute, poems which lustrous fame uplifts on pinions white. Why should I toil to be known so evilly when stillness can cost me nothing? (Martial 1920)<sup>31</sup>

Since Canus was a famous flutist in real life, the metaphor of turning him into piper in this particular context is equivalent to utter contempt for this role, in an epigram full of expressive insults, making Martial enter the list of illustrious detractors of bagpipes in Greco-Roman culture. Finally, the poem 'Copa' (The Barmaid) by Virgil could contain a description of a bagpipe (Scott 1986, 408).

There are not many more evidence-based references to one or another type of bagpipe from these centuries, except for some induced by biased and romanticising interpretations, especially if they conveyed some exotic or ideologically convenient image. Such is the case of a widespread misconception, probably arising from the quoted fragment of Procopius, whereby bagpipes were used as a musical standard of the Roman legions:

There are a few references to bagpipes in ancient literature (Aristophanes, Suetonius, Martial, Dio Chrysostom) but no surviving instruments, or unambiguous depictions. Popular writings on bagpipes over the last two hundred years have given a different impression about this ambiguity, but on re-examination, such claims may all be discounted, notably the persistent belief that the bagpipe had military use in the Roman army. (Cocks, Baines and Cannon 2005)

Thus, if the legionaries exported the *tibia utricularis* that so much pleased Nero, they left no trace. In the emblematic case of Galicia:

[D]espite the Romanization operating in Galicia [...] so that there the Latin language was the norm, we don't know of the name *tibia utricularis* being used in Galicia, even in a derivative form [...] If Galician people never used it, when Latin was their normal language, this was certainly

31 'Credis hoc, Prisce? / voce ut loquatur psittacus coturnicis / et concupiscat esse Canus ascaules?' are the key verses (Translation into English by Walter Ker 1920, 154).



because they never received the instrument that had this name from the Romans. (Cobas 1955, 141. Spanish original)

The point is that nearly a thousand years of the two major civilizations of the classical Western legacy have not bequeathed more than a handful of firm allusions to the instrument.<sup>32</sup> The testimonials inherited are sometimes a proportional reflection of historical truth, and perhaps this ancient kind of pipe was only a rare, exotic instrument in Greece and Rome, scantily echoed by writers, sculptors and in other forms of art.

The picture of the bagpipe in the Graeco-Roman world as an instrument of low-cast musicians and mendicants, at first from eastern Asia, is strengthened by negative evidence from many sources [...] All this silence only confirms the impression that the early bagpipe, with the possible exception of a brief spell of novelty in Rome, was the equipment of a beggar, perhaps not frequently seen and its music certainly rated of no kind of interest whatsoever. (Baines 1995, 66-67)

Does all that mean, in short, that we lack any iconographic references to bagpipes before the Middle Ages? Not really, because although controversial there exist a few images of great value in this regard, as they may constitute the first unambiguous visual representations of the instrument. These are basically a ring and a terracotta group.

Perhaps the first clear evidence for it [existence of bagpipe] is provided by a Hellenistic gem depicting an elderly satyr who sits in a pose recalling Rodin's *Thinker*. Behind him is a tree, from which hang a panpipe and a bagpipe. The latter has two chanters and a bass drone, all flared at the end. It looks as if this may have been a mouth-blown bagpipe, but the inflating arrangements are not clear. (West 1992, 107-108)

West's contribution is based on the work of Boardman about the jewellery collection recorded by the Ionides (Boardman 1968). The piece is 19 mm thick, made of hyacinth, with convex surface and flat underneath. The quality of the material execution is remarkable, because the oval scene has small

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32 The *aulos*, for instance, appears on hundreds of Greek vases. Many recognized specialists in musical archaeology pay little or no or no attention to ancient bagpipes, obviously not for lack of interest.

proportions, about 2.5 cm. high and 1.7 cm. wide. Concerning the ring's dating, West writes: "Professor Boardman tells me that the gem is more likely to be earlier than the first century BC than not, but that these gems are horribly difficult to date" (West 1992, 108). The picture shows how the old satyr's bagpipe hangs on the tree while he sits down puzzled (Figure 5).<sup>33</sup>

The instrument actually resembles a bagpipe very closely, and everything points to a representation based on a real model. Indeed, it is rather sophisticated, with three visible tubes and perhaps one more leaning on the bag.



FIGURE 5 *Marsyas with Bagpipe*.<sup>34</sup>

33 Analysis based on Boardman 1968, 21-22 and 93; image on page 63. This Marsyas with bagpipe is probably Hellenistic, adds Boardman, judging by the secure and bold cutting, then dominated for gems by a technique originating in Alexandria.

34 Hyacinth ring, ca. first century BC. Picture and analysis from Boardman 1968.

Another possibility is that one of the theoretical chanters is the blowpipe. Boardman interprets the scene as a representation of the Marsyas and Apollo motif, after Marsyas' defeat in the battle of musical skills. Now he knows there is no choice but to accept the fate of being flayed alive in punishment for his fatuity challenging the god. Hence the gesture of abandonment and pessimism, as well as the helplessness of the bagpipe hanging behind him. Interestingly, Marsyas—who is a deeply meaningful figure in Greek mythology—will be associated with bagpipes in the future, conflating music, sensual passion and defeat, at a crucial turning point of Western culture:

The defeat of Marsyas, which is a defeat of the breath, of the voice, of the body and of the animal, is the subduing or silencing of the medium of sound by the medium of sight. (Connor 2002)

The version of the duel between Apollo (Phoibos) and Marsyas in the late retelling by Latin anthologist Nonnus of Pamphilos (fifth century AD) is relevant, because it describes how Athena's engorged cheeks carry over into Marsyas's flayed skin. Nonnus imagines the skin of the 'the shepherd' resounding inflated by the wind:

Another Seilenos there was, fingering a proud pipe, who lifted a haughty neck and challenged a match with Phoibos; but Phoibos tied him to a tree and stript off his hairy skin, and made it a windbag. There it hung, high on a tree, and the breeze often entered, swelling it out into a shape like him, as if the shepherd could not keep silence but made his tune again. (Cited in Connor 2002)

Hence the possible connection between the 'reproach' (facial deformation) of Athena and the satyr (who inherited the instrument). The myth relates how watching herself in a stream as she played, Athena was quite shattered to see her facial appearance, with the cheeks puffed out. Therefore she threw down her pipes and laid a curse on anyone who should ever take them up again. Marsyas picked up the instrument and adopted it, as well as the fatal curse. However, Aristotle in his *Politics* (1341b) was highly critical of the narration, revealing the low status of physical instruments in the Greek hierarchy of arts:

It makes a good story to say that the goddess did this because she was put out by the way it distorted her face; but it is more likely to have been because training in aulos-playing contributes nothing to the intelligence,

knowledge and skill being things that we attribute to Athena (cited in Bundrick 2005, 36).

For Connor, Marsyas' music represented "the bellied condition, the skinny animality of human beings which is highlighted by playing instruments such as the bagpipes" (2002). The connection between the bag of skin—which Marsyas becomes—and the bagpipe also seems sound. Following this approach, the fact is that the bagpipe has a bag generally made of goatskin or sheep, therefore coming from livestock. On the other hand the Neolithic revolution marked the transition from hunter-gatherers to farmers and herders, but among the latter livestock represented a more antiquated stage. So Cain (the ambitious farmer) killed his brother Abel (the shepherd) in *Genesis*. And for the same reason bagpipes very soon became a referential icon of the primitive and the archaic, especially in the figure of the shepherd who worships in Bethlehem (with the cow and cattle surrounding the cradle). This causality can also be traced in some versions of the myth of the founding of Athens, in which the final match to name the city confronted Neptune and Athena. Neptune nailed his trident into the ground, and a spirited galloping horse (livestock) emerged. Athena planted an olive branch in the ground and it sprouted the vine (agriculture), winning the votes of the other gods, who considered that the olive tree represented the future and prosperity. In summary, bagpipes may have incarnated the past and poverty in classical civilizations, and were—deliberately or unwittingly—relegated for this reason.

Furthermore, in Greece rational thought applied to the social order was imposed for the good of the individual and the community. Marsyas was an orgiastic and ecstatic character, in several aspects related to the East, and his defeat against the Apollonian balance and sense of proportion in collective imagination should be considered an integral part of the phase of Greek growth as a thriving civilization within the struggle for political and cultural hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean. An additional reason for the discredit attaching to the bagpipe and other wind instruments in classical Greece was "undoubtedly the ethical priority of vocal over instrumental music" (Connor 2002).

There is another representation, of a possible itinerant-bagpiper—the most recognizable of a group of three copies (see Wardle 1981, vol. 2, 52-53)—as ancient as the Marsyas we have seen and whose relevance is also comparable (Figure 6). It is a terracotta figurine, probably Alexandrine, from the first century BC (later for Vendries 2013, 211), representing a musician dressed as a Syrian. The coincidence of the previous ring and this piece in antiquity and the city/artisan style of Alexandria may not be a mere coincidence. Much more studied than the ring of Marsyas, this piece becomes rather enigmatic



FIGURE 6 *Syrian Piper in Terracotta.*<sup>35</sup>

because of the doubts that rise from the interpretation of its music-making mechanisms:

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35 Ca. first century BC. Image and permission from bpk / Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen from Berlin. Cat. number 8798.



There are three figurines from late Ptolemaic Egypt, each depicting a man in Syrian dress who is playing or preparing to play two (if not three) instruments at once. In his left hand he holds a panpipe. Under his left arm he holds an inflated skin bag, into the end of which is fixed a pipe that extends to his right hand. In at least one of the figurines the pipe is clearly marked with finger-holes. In another—the only one where the feet are not broken off—the man's right foot presses down on a clapper, or more probably a bellows supplying the bag with air. In this figurine he is assisted by a naked boy or dwarf, who also treads down on the pedal while at the same time clashing a small pair of cymbals together. The bagpipe represented in these models is of a very basic design, inflated by bellows, not by a blowpipe, and with a single exit-pipe which could function either as a chanter or as a drone accompanying the melody of the panpipe (West 1992, 108).

We agree with West that Sachs was wrong in judging that the bag blows air both to the tube in the right hand and to the Panpipes the musician holds with the left hand, thus making them a single instrument (Sachs 1940, 143-144). Instead, it rather gives the impression that the musician directly plays the flute while the 'bagpipe' accompanies independently. It is also likely that the mechanism under the right foot of the musician is the bellows that provides air to the bag (and not a kind of rattle). The assessments of this group by Baines (1995, 65-66) are probably correct; but in a later work he wrote, a bit surprisingly: "I must confess that I only recently noticed that these figures more likely represent water-sellers with the leather water-bag slung across the waist" (Baines 1975, 269). If this statement is right, there is no such piper but a water-seller calling people; but Baines' late suggestion looks dubious; in that case what is the usefulness of the pipe coming from the bag? Is it just a tap to pour the water? On the contrary, for Collinson, the seated man is accompanying his set of pan-pipes "by means of a bag under his arm, into which is tied what is obviously a pipe sounding a drone, which he holds loosely in his right hand". Collinson identifies a scabellum or time-beater under his right foot, and an assistant dwarf clashing a pair of small cymbals (1975, 43); both points are also unclear, because the dwarf might be performing a different instrument or holding something that is not an instrument at all; and how does the musician introduce air into the bag? In fact Collinson writes that "there is no apparent means of inflating the bag during performance. The music must therefore have stopped while the deflated bag was blown up again by the player", which is possible but not more (Ibidem. See Wardle 1981, vol. 1, 168 and vol. 2, 52).

What seems to have gone unnoticed is the outward appearance of the principal figure: his face—perhaps of a blind musician—seems to express suffering, interpretable as the result of the troubles of a mendicant life or perhaps as the occasional mime used to accompany a sad story. The realism of the scene—typical of Hellenistic aesthetics—is reinforced by the expressive contortion of the second figure, probably performing a related narrative action or dance. Thus both the Marsyas and the Syrian pipers coincide with the Greco-Roman portraits of the bagpipe in evoking defeat: the satyr is the loser in the battle against a god, and the beggar in the battle of life.

There are quite a number of other claims about ancient bagpipes, but they are generally more uncertain.<sup>36</sup> For instance, West describes a ‘graffito in a Pompeian brothel’ naming an *Ascaules* (1992, 108–109); the text is:

[A(ulum)] Vettium Caprasium  
 Felicem aed(ilem) v(iis) a(edibus) s(acris) p(ublicis) p(rocurendis) o(ro)  
 v(os)f(aciatis) Menecrates  
 et Vesbinus rog(ant) scrib(sit)(!) Ascaules (CIL IV 636 cf. p. 1239 = ILS  
 6430b)

The inscription actually existed (not currently), but in the opinion of Manfred Schmidt it had nothing to do with any musical instrument; instead, it was: “a typical election poster (programma), written by a certain Ascaules. *Please, make Caprasius Felix an aedile...*” (personal communication, January 2014). The cited Ascaules was “probably a slave with a Greek personal name” (ibidem), and so just the physical author of the inscription. If Ascaules was so called because he actually was a bagpiper—perhaps an entertainer in the brothel—there is no way to know it.

In a brief contribution by 1933, Voigt argued that a legendary Roman coin mentioned by Suetonius—supposedly reproducing the image of Nero playing the bagpipes—was never located, but another with a small bagpipe was known. Voigt referred to a denarius from 70 BC (long before Nero), whose main image on the front represents Juno Sospita (goddess Juno as patron of the State), dressed in goatskin. The reverse shows a woman feeding a snake standing before her, with a possible small bagpipe behind and the inscription ‘Fabati’. The Roman family Fabatus, whose birthplace was the old city of Lanuvium, minted the coin. Voigt’s contribution is unclear in several points,

36 See for example chapters one and two of Collinson 1975.



starting from the image itself,<sup>37</sup> but remarkably he understood the bagpipe in this piece as a symbol of the rustic character of Lanuvium, a town that stood as a bastion of the purest traditions before Rome. Accordingly in Lanuvium the martial and rustic sound of the bagpipes (as well as of the *cornu* and the *tuba*, which are also represented in another coins of Fabati) was preferred to the soft and sophisticated Roman flutes and lyre—the favourite instruments of the inhabitants of the capital. Early bagpipes appear once more in association with backwardness and rurality.

### Additional Testimonies of the Medieval World

As seen above, the medieval world has bequeathed to us a much more prolific legacy in regard to bagpipes, no doubt because they enjoyed at that time an overwhelming presence compared with antiquity. In fact the instrument lived in this period a true golden age, being enormously popular in all social strata. The causes of this remarkable development include morphological features, like notable loudness and pitch stability, as well as the ease of manufacture and the possible impact of novelty. The bagpipe also had a limited melodic range, quite comparable to that of the human voice, so it should be very suitable to double singers, a practice that many authors believe was widespread in medieval music (see Hoppin 2000).

The best centuries for medieval bagpipes were the thirteenth and fourteenth, coinciding with the splendour and fall of the troubadour culture, initiating a process of slow but inexorable decline and marginalization from the fifteenth century onwards. Nevertheless there are earlier medieval documents relating to plausible bagpipes. According to Sachs' history of musical instruments:

The first medieval mention of bagpipes is in a spurious letter of St. Jerome to Dardanus, which can be traced back to the ninth century: 'The *chorus* is a simple skin with two brazen pipes, and one [the player] inspires through the first one, and it emits the sound through the second'. Is not the much contested name *chorus* simply derived from *chorion*, 'hide'? (Sachs 1947, 269)<sup>38</sup>

37 In the Fabati's coins we have seen it does not seem possible to determine whether the object represented is a bagpipe or not.

38 In this passage Sachs equates "hide" to bagpipe bellows. In the letter it reads '*Chorus, secundum eundem [Hieronymum], [est] pellis simplex cum duabus cicutis; per alteram*

This apocryphal epistle—*Ad Dardanum, de diversis generibus musicorum instrumentorum*—is one of the most controversial documents in the history of bagpipes. Today it is known with certainty that the attribution to St. Jerome is false, but among the dozen or so copies that were made in his name in the Middle Ages, the first ones are very old, which gives them a considerable autonomous value.<sup>39</sup> As seen above, this *chorus* probably was a bladder pipe or close to it, with bag but droneless; its mention becomes critical for our study.

[*Chorus* is] A Latin term used for several different types of musical instrument. Two meanings were given in the spurious letter from 'Jerome' to 'Dardanus', apparently written in the 9th century and copied many times during the Middle Ages. One referred to a simple form of bagpipe, consisting of a mouthpipe and chanter both of brass, inserted into a bag of skin which served as an air reservoir. The other referred to a string instrument which would presumably have been plucked, as the bow had not reached Europe by the 9th century. (Remnant 1980, 357)

The oldest copy of this letter dates from 840-850, in Northern France. It is preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Angers, and shows a *chorus* in the upper-left corner (Figure 7. See Page 1977, 301).

Baines (1995, 67) and Collinson (1975, 77) support the initial opinion of Sachs (1947, 269) valuing the document in its successive editions as an invention, although acknowledging that the first author must have had before him a real bagpipe in the ninth century. Avenary (1961) and Christopher Page (1977) have also devoted attention to the series. The latter, a leading performer of medieval music, believes that undoubtedly all found copies derive from the oldest, of the ninth century, probably by Carolingian scholars (particularly the Frankish monk Hrabanus Maurus and his pupil Walafrid Strabo). Page offers an instructive explanation of how the medieval concept of historical time had a meaning very different from ours, judging virtually no lapse between their era and Adam's, so that the attribution to St. Jerome of Stridon (who lived between the years 340 and 420 AD) of the message to Dardanus is not surprising and 'fraud' was not intended (Page 1977, 302).

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*inspiratur, per alteram sonum reddit'*, unmistakably the verbal depiction of the elementary mechanism of a bagpipe.

39 Bullough mentions about sixty copies in total (1991, 33).



FIGURE 7 Chorus from the Ad Dardanum epistle, Angers. Ca. 840-850.<sup>40</sup>

40 Image and permission kindly provided by the Bibliothèque Municipale of Angers (France), rés. MS. 18, fol. 13r / © CNRS-IRHT, base Enluminures. Also very old is the version preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Munich, dating from the tenth century, with a similar spindle-shaped *chorus* painted (Cod. lat. 14523, fol. 5. See Page 1977, 306 and plate 19). Even more clear illustrations of the *chorus* as bagpipe exist in two woodcuts from a manuscript at the Benedictine monastery of St Blaise in the Black Forest (Germany). See

The new bagpipes would expand very quickly, to the point that in a relatively short time they went on to become the most widespread and popular instrument all over Europe. In the words of the early music specialist and performer David Munrow: “Throughout the Middle Ages the bagpipe was far from being a mere peasant instrument: it was heard and appreciated at all levels of society” (1976, 10). A passage by Jerome of Moravia is often adduced to confirm the veracity of that outstanding medieval boom; by 1250 he claimed that “the bagpipe is above all instruments” thus repeating what John Cotton had said a century before (cited in Munrow 1976, 10). The amplitude of the iconographic evidence—some of which has been shown above—points in the same direction. This superiority can be explained, at least partially, because wind instruments prevailed over strings in the Middle Ages until well into the Renaissance.

The *chorus* analysed points to the probable existence of bagpipes in Europe before the Crusades, though in very rudimentary forms. Bagpipes really could have been stored in the memory and occasionally used in some European localities that knew them during the long-lasting Greco-Roman cultural hegemony. But it was not until the Carolingian Renaissance that the instrument returns in occasional testimonies. The Crusades possibly boosted its use with the renewed musical contribution from the East, always suggestive and with an exotic flavour. With the troubadour culture—including German *Minnesänger*, Italian *laude* and the Hispanic *Cantigas*—the definitive and pervasive implantation of the modern bagpipe took place, on both popular and aristocratic levels. Those were its best days before the twentieth century.<sup>41</sup>

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Collinson 1975, 78-79); the manuscript dates from the twelfth century, a copy of a previous one ca. year 1003 (both of them already disappeared). Martin Gerbert copied the two woodcuts from the former in his treatise *De Cantu et Musica Sacra* (1774).

41 For a description of recent centuries in the history of the bagpipes, some of the titles that have appeared in this article can be consulted, as well as the final chapters of my own book (Campos 2007; see also chapter III of Campos 2009).



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# Echo In Euripides' *Andromeda*

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## Abstract

This article argues that Euripides employed a form of musical repetition when staging the character Echo in the *Andromeda*. In doing so he was drawing on innovations in contemporary musical culture to produce a striking dramatic effect. This hypothesis also suggests a new way of approaching Aristophanes' parody of Euripides' Echo in the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

## Keywords

Euripides – Greek tragedy – music – metre – Aristophanes – paratragedy

The evidence for the role played by Echo in Euripides' *Andromeda* is frustratingly exiguous. In attempting to understand how the character was staged and performed, we are limited to a few fragments from the play itself and Aristophanes' parody of the scene in *Thesmophoriazusae*, where Mnesilochus plays the role of Andromeda and Euripides that of Echo. In this article, I shall suggest that contemporary musical practices offer a clue to understanding Euripides' dramaturgy, which in turn allows us to recalibrate our understanding of Aristophanes' response. The nature of the evidence does not admit definitive conclusions, but I shall show that the scenario I envisage is a strong possibility, and the one which best coheres with what we know about the play.

I begin with Aristophanes' reworking. At 1065-9 (= *TrGF* F 114 K), Mnesilochus sings the beginning of the play, part of an anapaestic song by Andromeda lamenting her plight:<sup>1</sup>

1 Σ Ar. *Th.* 1065 glosses as follows: ὁ Μνησίλοχος ὡς Ἀνδρομέδα. τοῦ προλόγου Ἀνδρομέδας εἰσβολή. Cf. Kannicht 2004, 238-9 for the meaning of εἰσβολή.

ὦ νύξ ἱερά,  
 ὥς μακρὸν ἵππευμα διώκεις  
 ἀστεροειδέα νῶτα διφρεύουσ'  
 αἰθέρος ἱεῖρας  
 τοῦ σεμνοτάτου δι' Ὀλύμπου.

O holy night, how long a course you pursue, riding your chariot on the starry back of holy aether, bound for most august Olympus.

This is immediately followed by Euripides/Echo repeating Mnesilochus/Andromeda's last words (δὴ Ὀλύμπου, 1069b), and the scene rapidly descends into absurdity as Euripides/Echo keeps interrupting Mnesilochus/Andromeda's attempted lamentations (1070-80):

Κη. τί ποτ' Ἀνδρομέδα περίαλλα κακῶν  
 μέρος ἐξέλαχον—  
 Ηχ. μέρος ἐξέλαχον—  
 Κη. θανάτου τλήμων—  
 Ηχ. θανάτου τλήμων—  
 Κη. ἀπολείς μ', ὦ γράυ, στωμυλλομένη.  
 Ηχ. στωμυλλομένη.  
 Κη. νῆ Δί' ὀχληρά γ' εἰσήρρηκας  
 λίαν.  
 Ηχ. λίαν.  
 Κη. ὦγάθ', ἔασόν με μονωδησαι,  
 καὶ χαριεῖ μοι. παῦσαι.  
 Ηχ. παῦσαι.  
 Κη. βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας.  
 Ηχ. βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας.  
 Κη. τί κακόν;  
 Ηχ. τί κακόν;  
 Κη. ληρεῖς.  
 Ηχ. ληρεῖς...

*Mnesilochus.* Why did I, Andromeda, of woes beyond all others obtain a share? *Echo.* Obtain a share.—Unhappy in my death.—Unhappy in my death.—You'll destroy me, hagling, babbling on.—Babbling on.—By Zeus, your irritating interventions are just too much!—Just too much!—My good sir, let me sing solo, and humour me. Stop it.—Stop it.—Go

to hell!—Go to hell!—What's wrong?—What's wrong?—You're gibbering—You're gibbering...

And so on. Scholars have taken this parody as evidence that Euripides' use of Echo in *Andromeda* must have involved some sort of verbal repetition.<sup>2</sup> At Ar. *Th.* 1059, Euripides, in response to Mnesilochus' question about which role he is playing, employs the phrase Ἠχώ, λόγων ἀντῳδός to identify himself, a phrase which has sometimes been thought to be a quotation from Euripides' play.<sup>3</sup> ἀντῳδός means 'singing in response', but need not imply direct verbal repetition. A form of repetition, however, is clearly implied by Echo's other appearances in tragedy; at Soph. *Phil.* 188-90 Echo is described as responding to Philoctetes' lamentations:

ἀ δ' ἀθυρόστομος  
Ἀχώ τηλεφανῆς πικραῖς  
οἰμωγαῖς ὑπακούει.

Echo, she of the unbarred mouth, appearing far off responds to his bitter cries of grief.

Here, the double meaning of ὑπακούει as 'listen' and 'respond' indicates that Echo is reduplicating Philoctetes' utterances in some way, emphasizing his sense of isolation.<sup>4</sup> Her role is similar at Eur. *Hec.* 1109-13, where Agamemnon describes returning to the Greek camp after hearing a disturbance among the soldiers:

κραυγῆς ἀκούσας ἦλθον· οὐ γὰρ ἥσυχος  
πέτρας ὀρείας παῖς λέλακ' ἀνὰ στρατὸν  
Ἠχώ διδοῦσα θόρυβον· εἰ δὲ μὴ Φρυγῶν  
πύργους πεσόντας ἦισμεν Ἑλλήνων δορί,  
φόβον παρέσχ' ἄν οὐ μέσως ὅδε κτύπος.

2 Cf. Gilbert 2004, 156: "In Aristophanes, the character Echo repeats the last two Greek words, δι' Ὀλύμπου, which mark a metrical pause (period-end) in Andromeda's delivery. In Eur., a voice from off-stage probably did the same thing, though perhaps not so near the beginning of Andromeda's monody."

3 Cf. Austin and Olson 2004, 322. The phrase is printed as fr. \*\*114a by Snell, but is not included in Kannicht's edition.

4 Cf. LSJ s.v. § 1. ὑπακούει is an emendation by Auratus for the ὑπόκειται of the manuscripts: see Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990, 183.

I came upon hearing the uproar. For Echo, the unquiet child of the mountain rocks, cries out among the army, raising a din. Did I not know that the towers of the Phrygians were fallen to the Greek spear, this noise would bring no little fear.

Her action (λέλακ'... διδοῦσα θόρυβον) is not explicitly marked as derivative, although we are presumably meant to think of Agamemnon understanding her actions as reduplicating and further inciting the noise already being made.

Despite her representation in Aristophanes, we should be wary of thinking that in the fifth century Echo was always conceptualized as a figure who repeated her interlocutor's words directly. The first extant occurrence of Echo is at Pind. *O.*14.20-4, where the narrator bids her take the news of Asopichus' victory to his father in the underworld:

μελαντειχέα νῦν δόμον  
 Φερσεφόνας ἔλθ', Ἄ-  
 χοί, πατρὶ κλυτὰν φέρισ' ἀγγελίαν,  
 Κλεόδαμον ὄφρ' ἰδοῖς, υἱὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι οἱ νέαν  
 κόλποις παρ' εὐδόξοις Πίσας  
 ἐστεφάνωσε κυδίμων ἀέθλων πτεροῖσι χαίταν.

Go now, Echo, to Persephone's black-walled house, and carry this glorious message to his father so that when you see Cleodamus you may tell him that his son crowned his hair with the wings of the famous games, in the renowned folds of Pisa.

There have been various attempts to formulate the content of Echo's utterance, ranging from seeing her loosely as a personification of fame, to thinking that she conveyed a precise message to Cleodamus, or that she repeated the whole poem verbatim.<sup>5</sup> Nothing in the poem supports the idea of verbatim repetition, however; the most natural reading of υἱὸν εἴπῃς ὅτι... is that Echo is being asked to convey the news of Asopichus' victory. We might imagine Echo repeating the final lines of the poem, but this possibility is not explicitly sanctioned by

5 Cf. Wilamowitz 1922, 151-2; Gianotti 1975, 74 n. 121, who characterizes Echo as "in sostanza la voce di *Fama*, che diffonde la notizia della vittoria". Smith (1999, 259) argues that "it can be inferred that [Echo] will report his poem verbatim to Cleodamus". This cannot be right, since it would entail a repetition by Echo of the poet's command to her, as well as the invocation of the Graces, which would make little sense in the context of the underworld.

the text.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, we should resist seeing Aristophanes' parodic treatment as straightforward evidence for what happened in Euripides' scene, as the comic appropriation is as likely to be a humorous distortion of the original as to closely reflect its form. When Mnesilochus/Andromeda requests Euripides/Echo to 'lament in turn' at *Thes.* 1063 (σέ δ' ἐπικλαίειν ὕστερον), there is no indication that he expects Euripides to repeat his words exactly, and part of the scene's humour comes from Mnesilochus/Andromeda not expecting Euripides/Echo to respond as he does.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, even if Echo was strongly associated with verbal repetition in this period, that would not have precluded Euripides' treatment of her departing in some ways from this basic idea. It is improbable that Euripides' treatment of Echo in *Andromeda* would have involved sustained verbal repetition, with Echo simply repeating exactly what Andromeda had previously sung, since it is hard to see how such a mode of repetition could have been dramatically effective over the course of an extended passage of lyric song. It is notable that other instances of amoebaeic lament in tragedy do not include much in the way of repetition by one speaker of another's words, even though refrains were common in laments, and that there is no parallel in the extant tragic texts for extended 'echoing' of one speaker's words by another in amoebaeic laments.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the kind of repetition found in Aristophanes' parody would have interfered overmuch with the flow of the song, and would have had a deflationary effect on Andromeda's highly emotive lament. Echo may have repeated some of Andromeda's words, perhaps with the first words of her responses echoing the last words of Andromeda's strophe, but comparison with other such exchanges suggests that sustained repetition is unlikely.

Our other piece of evidence for Echo's role is *TrGF* F 118 K, where Andromeda asks Echo to allow her to mourn with the chorus, which has just entered:

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- 6 Nash 1990, 101-3 notes that Echo's statement reworks the announcement of the victory at the games, which would have included the victor's name and patronymic. Cf. Pind. *O.* 8.81-4 where the personified Angelia travels to the underworld; as in *O.* 14, the form of her communication is not explicitly articulated.
- 7 For the comic double meaning of ἐπικλαίειν cf. Austin and Olson 2004, 323, and for other uses cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 5.453, 30.114. Another possible sense is 'lament over [me]', with ὕστερον meaning 'after [I've lamented myself]'.
- 8 For lamentational refrains cf. Alexiou 1974, 11-12, 134-7; and cf. Finglass 2007, 160 for the use of anaphora in laments. A distinction needs to be drawn between common repetition of terms of lamentation such as ἰώ, and repetition of the words of one character by another; it is notable that the amoebaeic laments at Soph. *El.* 121-250; Eur. *Med.* 131-83, and *Hel.* 167-228 contain little of the latter. For use of limited verbal repetition see below pp. 62-3.

κλύεις, ὦ;  
 προσαυδῶ σὲ τὰν ἐν ἄντροις,  
 ἀπόπαυσον, ἔασον Ἄ-  
 χοῖ με σὺν φίλαισιν  
 γόου κόρον λαβεῖν.

Do you hear? I call on you, the dweller in the caves; desist, Echo, and let me have my fill of lamentation with my friends.

The phrase ἐν ἄντροις implies that Echo was offstage.<sup>9</sup> It might be argued that ἔασον Ἄ- / χοῖ με . . . γόου κόρον λαβεῖν hint that Echo's responses to Andromeda were in some way disruptive, as they are in Aristophanes' parody, but the contrast is more likely to be between Andromeda engaging in solo lamentation, her abandonment emphasized as in the *Philoctetes* passage by the fact that only Echo is present to hear and respond to her, and her communal lamentation with the chorus. Aristophanes' parody shifts the terms; when at 1077 Mnesilochus asks to 'sing alone' (ἔασόν με μονωδῆσαι), this, and his use of παῦσαι, are motivated by irritation at Euripides/Echo's interference, whereas Andromeda's ἀπόπαυσον reflects the desire to lament with the chorus.<sup>10</sup>

So although extensive verbal repetition is unlikely, the *Thesmophoriazusae* scene, and the other tragic uses of Echo, suggest that repetition of some sort must have played a role in Euripides' realization. What form did this repetition take, and how did Aristophanes' parody relate to it? A clue is provided by ancient accounts of Euripides' musical practices. Euripides was an important figure in the musical innovations of the late fifth century and is often associated with the so-called 'New Musicians' of this period such as Timotheus of Miletus.<sup>11</sup> One important aspect of these innovations was the sundering of the connection between melody and pitch accent; whereas previously melody was probably more or less firmly linked with the pitch profile of the words, with pitched syllables being matched by notes of a higher pitch, the New Musicians

9 Thus Gibert 2004, 156. It is also possible that she was onstage and that the caves were scenographically represented, or that ἐν ἄντροις is a characterizing phrase indicating Echo's usual dwellings (cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1110 πέτρας ὀρείας παῖς).

10 For the textual problems of this fragment cf. Gibert 2004, 158.

11 The beginnings of the New Music are usually dated to the late 430s: see e.g. LeVen 2014, 9-10 with further references. For Euripides' association with Timotheus, cf. the (almost certainly fictional) account of their collaboration in the composition of the latter's *Persians* in Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* T 4.24 Kovacs, and cf. further Csapo 1999-2000. For an account of New Musical practice in general, and of its socio-historical aspect, cf. Csapo 2004; Power 2010, 500-7, LeVen 2014, 71-112 with further bibliography.



began to violate this connection and compose melodies independent of pitch profile.<sup>12</sup> This is demonstrated by the musical notation on the papyrus fragment of Euripides' *Orestes*, where the melody does not conform to pitch accent and which may reflect Euripides' own composition.<sup>13</sup>

This process is also reflected by the comments of Athenaeus (10.453d-e) on Euripides' use of the 'same *melos*', i.e., exactly the same melody from stanza to stanza regardless of pitch accent, in *Medea*. According to this account, Euripides took over the choral arrangement used by Callias in his *Alphabet Tragedy*, where the metre and the melody were identical in each stanza:

ὁ χορὸς δὲ γυναικῶν ἐκ τῶν σύνδυο πεποιημένος αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ἔμμετρος ἅμα καὶ μεμελοπεποιημένος τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· βῆτα ἄλφα βᾶ, βῆτα εἰ βε, βῆτα ἦτα βη, βῆτα ἰῶτα βι, βῆτα οὐ βο, βῆτα υἱ βυ, βῆτα ὦ βω, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἀντιστροφῷ τοῦ μέλους καὶ τοῦ μέτρου γάμμα ἄλφα, γάμμα εἰ, γάμμα ἦτα, γάμμα ἰῶτα, γάμμα οὐ, γάμμα υἱ, γάμμα ὦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν συλλαβῶν ὁμοίως ἐκάστων τὸ τε μέτρον καὶ τὸ μέλος ἐν ἀντιστρόφοις ἔχουσι πᾶσαι ταύτῳ. ὥστε τὸν Εὐριπίδην μὴ μόνον ὑπονοεῖσθαι τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐντεῦθεν πεποιηκέναι πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλος αὐτὸ μετενηνοχότα φανερόν εἶναι.<sup>14</sup>

12 For accounts of this process cf. Ruijgh 2001, 302-15; D'Angour 2006, 280-2. We should be wary of seeing too abrupt a shift in the late fifth century, from melodies which always respected pitch profile to ones which did not; a certain amount of melodic experimentation of this sort is likely to have pre-dated the period of the 'New Music', although that does not mean that their contemporaries were wrong to see the New Musicians as strikingly innovative in some respects.

13 Cf. Pöhlmann and West 2001, 12-17, and also the account of the relation between pitch and melody at Dion. Hal. *De comp. verb.* 11.

14 Cf. Ruijgh 2001, 302, and D'Angour 2006, 280-2, whose translation I reproduce. Olson in his Loeb edition translates τὸ μέλος αὐτὸ μετενηνοχότα as 'borrowed the song itself', understanding the passage to mean that Euripides borrowed the actual melody used by Callias. He then calls this "[a]n almost incomprehensibly odd assertion" (p. 172 n. 250), which it is: why would Euripides have made use of 'the song itself', the same melodic structure, in a different play, writing with different purposes in mind? Olson also mistranslates μεταφέρειν, which does not mean 'borrow' but 'transfer', for which cf. *LSJ s.v.* §a1, 3; n.b. that this use differs from the technical use of μεταφέρειν to mean 'modulate' at [Plut.] *de Mus.* 131b. D'Angour's reading of the passage is supported by Athen. 7.276a, which reports that Callias' play was the source for the 'arrangement' of the *Medea* and Sophocles' *Oedipus*: καὶ γὰρ Καλλίαν ἱστορεῖ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον γραμματικὴν συνθεῖναι τραγῳδίαν, ἀφ' ἧς ποιῆσαι τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν Εὐριπίδην ἐν Μῆδειᾳ καὶ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Οἰδίπουν. Here, τὴν διάθεσιν refers to the structure of the repeated melody rather than to the repetition of the actual melody used by Callias.

The chorus of women is composed so that the letters, lining up in pairs, are set to metre and melody as follows: beta alpha *ba*, beta ei *be*, beta eta *bē*, beta iota *bi*, beta ō *bō*, beta u *bu*, beta ō *bō*. The letters are set to the same melody and metre in the antistrophe, i.e. gamma alpha [*ga*], gamma ei [*ge*] [etc.]. And so on for the remaining syllables in each case, with the same metre and melody used in each antistrophe. Hence it may not only be supposed that Euripides composed the entire *Medea* on this precedent, but it is also clear that he transferred this very form of the melody.

The date and authorship of Callias' play has been the subject of much debate, and the idea that the *Alphabet Tragedy* could have exerted such an influence over plays such as *Medea* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* has often been doubted. Some scholars have taken Athenaeus' account at face value, ascribing the play to Callias the well-known comic poet and dating it to before 431.<sup>15</sup> However, a trend has developed towards dating the play towards the end of the fifth century, and taking 'Callias the Athenian' to refer to a lesser known playwright.<sup>16</sup> The latter scenario sees the *Alphabet Tragedy* as a response to previous tragedies, and the narrative sketched by Athenaeus as resulting from Callias' comically inflated claims about his play's influence on tragedy.<sup>17</sup> For the purposes of my argument, however, the crucial point is the testimony that from around 431 onwards, tragedians began to use identical melodies across strophes and antistrophes,<sup>18</sup> Euripides' *Medea* being one of the plays especially associated with this innovation. Whether this compositional technique was derived from the *Alphabet Tragedy*, or whether Callias actually imitated the tragedians, matters less than the fact that such a shift took place, and that the form of melodic repetition mentioned by Athenaeus became a notable part of Euripides' musical dramaturgy.

15 For this argument e.g. Ruijgh 2001 with further references. Cf. Gagné 2013, 304 n. 21 for a helpful synopsis of the arguments and bibliography. The dating of Soph. *OT* is a noted problem. No firm evidence for dating exists, although scholars have often dated it to the early 420s: see e.g. Winnington-Ingram 1980, 342.

16 Cf. e.g. Rosen 1999, Smith 2003, Gagné 2013.

17 See especially Rosen 1999, 153–5; Gagné 2013, 311–13. On this reading, Callias' play would be responding to the melodic arrangements developed in earlier tragedies rather than influencing them.

18 Athenaeus' statement that 'so it seems that all the other tragedians adopted antistrophic songs into their tragedies from this source' (10.453f) makes it clear that he is referring to a general development.

With this development in mind, I suggest that Echo echoed Andromeda musically, using exactly the same melody in an identical metrical sequence, but applying it to different words. The scene may have involved some verbal repetition, playing on the conventions of lamentational language and on the idea of Echo repeating others' words, but melody would have provided the main point of co-ordination of the two characters' utterances.<sup>19</sup> This would have differed from a scenario in which Echo sang an antistrophe in the traditional style, involving a looser melodic responsion with the strophe, because exact melodic duplication would have thrown greater emphasis onto the melodic aspect of Echo's song.<sup>20</sup> There are two possible ways in which the scenario I am proposing might have been elaborated. Andromeda may have sung a melody which corresponded closely to the pitch profile of the words; Echo's application of the same melody to a discourse with a different pitch profile would then have been made more striking by its obvious departure from Andromeda's melodic pattern. Alternatively, both characters may have sung a melody which departed from pitch profile. If Andromeda's melody had been matched closely to pitch, Echo's repetition of the same melody would have had a striking effect, reapplying the melody, which in Andromeda's song had reflected the natural melodic properties of the language, in a non-naturalistic way. It is tempting to think that this was the case, as this would give a scenario where the melodic dynamics of the scene instantiated shifts in wider musical practice, with Andromeda's traditional melodization giving way to Echo's distinctively modern arrangement.<sup>21</sup> Such a suggestion must, however, remain tentative.

At this point it might be objected that if in this period Euripides frequently employed an identical melody across the stanzas of a song, Echo's repetition of Andromeda's melody would not have been particularly noteworthy. However, the passage in Athenaeus refers to choral songs rather than amoebaeic laments, and there is an important formal difference between the two types of song. Exactly responsional melodies deployed across two voices would have had a different effect from exactly responding melodies sung by a single group; in the

19 Andromeda's polyptoton *ἰερά... ἰεράς* in *TrGF* F 114 K may provide a pointer towards the kind of verbal repetition employed by Echo.

20 For comments on the traditional mode of singing see Ruijgh 2001, 308-9; D'Angour 2006. Cosgrove and Meyer 2006, 80-1 point out that the papyri offer no evidence for a pitch-correlated mode of singing before the late second century BC, but given the absence of fifth century musical notation this is not a decisive objection to the evidence for pitch-correlation collected in e.g. Ruijgh 2001.

21 This scenario is suggested by Ruijgh 2001, 309-10 for the choruses of *Medea*.

former case the differentiation of the two characters and their voices would have thrown a contrastive emphasis onto melodic continuity. Moreover, there is evidence that employment of identical melodies for different speakers was a later development than their use by a single choral group.

The use of an identical melody for both Echo and Andromeda would have required that their songs be metrically identical; in the absence of any remains of Echo's responses we cannot be sure that this was the case, but a passage from *Helen*, produced together with *Andromeda* in 412 provides an interesting comparandum.<sup>22</sup> At 167-228 Helen and the Chorus exchange metrically identical stanzas,<sup>23</sup> which contain a few instances of reasonably close syllabic and verbal responsion: 194 ναύτας Ἀχαιῶν τις ~ 213 αἰῶν δυσάϊων τις; 195 ἔμολεν ἔμολε δάκρυα δάκρυσί μοι φέρων ~ 214 ἔλαχεν ἔλαχεν, ὅτε σ' ἐτέκετο ματρώβην; 208 λέ- / λοιπε δάπεδα γυμνάσιά τε ~ 226 λέ- / λοιπε βίοτον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔτι; there are also some lines of parallel or related sense: 193 ~ 212; 200 ~ 219.<sup>24</sup> More importantly, however, this passage is the first extant example in Euripides' oeuvre of a sung amoebaeic exchange where metrically identical sequences are employed for both characters.<sup>25</sup> Given the passage of Athenaeus cited above, it is probable

22 Euripides cannot have used identical melodies for Medea and the chorus in their exchange at *Med.* 131-59 because their sequences are not metrically identical; the chorus begins with an astrophic opening at 131-8 (analysed 3x anapaests, 3x dactyls, hipponactean by Mastronarde 2002, 190-1; cf. Diggle 1994, 278-83 for the metrical and textual problems of these lines); the chorus' strophic pair (148-58 = 173-83) combines anapaests, hagesichorean, and reizianum. (cf. Mastronade *ibid.* for metrical analysis), while Medea has pure anapaests at 160-7 and the Nurse anapaests and paroemiacs at 168-72. Athenaeus' comment τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐντεῦθεν πεποιηκέναι πᾶσαν must refer to the choral songs, as was the case in Callias' play (ὁ χορὸς δὲ γυναικῶν).

23 Cf. Dale 1967a, 76-80; Kannicht 1969, 60-4 for metrical analysis.

24 For such repetitions cf. Christ 1879, 642-4.

25 On the unusualness not only of the repetition of one speaker's metrical structure by another but of the structure of the *Helen* parodos in general cf. R. Kannicht 1969, 59, who notes that "der monodische Part der dramatis persona nicht selbständig vor dem Einzugslied liegt, sondern in dieses selbst, und zwar als [strophe α] integriert ist, so dass der Chor erst unter der folgenden Strophe... einzieht", which departs from the usual structure: cf. *ibid.* 59-60 for the emotive effect of this metrical identity, and also Burian 2007, 200. Cf. Dale 1967b, 110 and 176 for metrical variety as characteristic of amoebaea. With the *Helen* passage we might compare the strophic exchange at Eur. *Alc.* 244-79, where different metres are employed for Alcestis and Admetus; cf. also *Med.* 96-213 *Hec.* 59-215; *Tro.* 98-229; *Hcl.* 73-110. At *And.* 504-14 both characters' songs are made up of glyconics and pherecrateans, but they do not mirror each other exactly. Cf. further Collard 1981, 24. On amoebaea in general cf. Popp 1971. At pp. 268-70 he compares earlier and later plays of Euripides which employ 'die monodisch-amoebaeisch Parodos', the former being the sections of *Med.*, *Hec.*, and *Tro.* cited above, and the latter being *El.* 112-212;

that identical melodies were employed for both Helen and the Chorus, an instance of Euripides' extending the melodic arrangement employed in the choruses of *Medea* to other types of tragic song. The *Helen* passage may therefore provide a parallel for what Euripides did in the opening scene of *Andromeda*; both combined metrical and melodic identity with limited verbal repetition, the latter being perhaps somewhat more marked in the case of Echo's responses.

If the suggestion that Echo repeated Andromeda's melody is correct, it has important consequences for how we view Euripides' use of Echo and Aristophanes' subsequent parody. As well as being an emotionally charged exchange, the Echo/Andromeda scene would have constituted a powerful aesthetic statement about the dramaturgical possibilities opened up by contemporary musical developments. The use of melodic repetition would have reinforced the innovative move of opening a play with an anapaestic lament instead of the usual prologue in trimeters by emphasizing the role played by melody in articulating the relationship between the two characters.<sup>26</sup> Such a use would also have played on the meaning of ἤχῳ as 'sound', focusing attention on the capacity to reproduce sonic structures which underlies the notion of Echo as a figure who reproduces words. The fact that this emphasis on Echo's primordial sonic function is achieved by means of a self-consciously innovative application of melody underlines the artfulness of the scene. We might also suggest that the dialogue between Echo and Andromeda was offset by a shift towards a different type of dialogue between Andromeda and the Chorus; there is a metrical shift from anapaests in the opening to dodrans and bacchiacs in *TGrF* 117-20 K, and this was probably matched by a shift in tone and emphasis. In F 120, the chorus dwell on the cruelty of Andromeda's father:

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*Hel.* 164-252; *Hyp.* *TrGrF* 752f-h.14, which he characterizes as "Schauszenen ohne innere Dramatik". The *Electra* passage does not have metrical responsion between characters; for the *Hypsipyle* passage cf. Cropp 2004, 229-31. Cf. however Soph. *OC* 510-21 = 522-34 and Christ 1879, 647 for passages in which "wechseln zwar an den gleichen Stellen die Personen, sind aber die wechselnden Personen nicht die gleichen." The metrical arrangement of the *Helen* parodos is not completely unique, however; cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 315-455, where there are various metrical reflections of one character by another: 315-23 = 332-39; 345-53 = 363-71; 380-5 = 394-9; 405-9 = 418-22: in each of these cases the strophe is sung by Orestes and the antistrophe by Electra; cf. also 423-8 (Chorus) = 444-50 (El.); 429-33 (El.) = 451-5 (Chorus); 434-8 (Or.) = 439-43 (Chorus). For the attribution of speakers cf. Garvie 1986, 157-8. It is highly unlikely, however, that Aeschylus would have employed identical melodies in this exchange (cf. D'Angour 2006); the effect of the *Helen* parodos would have been significantly different.

26 For the uniqueness of this opening and its effects cf. Gibert 2004, 134; Wright 2005, 122. Cf. Gibert 1999-2000, 75-91 for the play's innovative treatment of erotic themes.

ἄνοικτος ὃς τεκῶν σὲ τὴν  
 πολυποντάτην βροτῶν  
 μεθήκεν Ἄϊδα πάτρας ὑπερθανεῖν

Pitiless your father who cast you to Hades, most wretched of mortals, to die on your homeland's behalf.

This may indicate that the chorus emphasized the wider context of Andromeda's sufferings; the exchange between Echo and Andromeda may therefore, by way of contrast, have focused more on Andromeda's immediate situation. Whatever the precise dynamics of the two scenes, however, it is reasonably safe to assume that there would have been a contrast between their different realizations of lamentation.

These suggestions allow us in turn to understand Aristophanes' parody in a new light.<sup>27</sup> Rather than the parody being a formally exaggerated version of what Euripides had done in *Andromeda*, it bathetically deflates Euripides' experimentation by means of comic realism, displacing Euripides' figurative use of music with a representation of how echoes actually work in real life.<sup>28</sup> The puncturing of Mnesilochus/Andromeda's highly-charged lament by Euripides/Echo's irritating interventions correlates with comedy's deflation of tragedy, and the realism of Euripides/Echo anticipates aspects of the characterization of Euripides in *Frogs*, where realistic depiction of everyday life is one of the cornerstones of his dramatic technique.<sup>29</sup> Although *Thesmophoriazusae* does not construct Euripides as a realist playwright as markedly as *Frogs*, it does repeatedly foreground the idea of Euripides exposing what women are really up to, while the disguise scenes play on Euripides' concern for dramatic verisimilitude.<sup>30</sup> The Echo parody dramatizes this concern by turning Euripidean realism back on itself, representing it in an exaggeratedly realistic form.

27 For paratragic elements in the *Thesmophoriazusae* cf. e.g. Rau 1967, 79-85; Zeitlin 1981, 169-217; Bowie 1993, 217-25; Silk 1993, 477-504; Gibert 1999-2000, 87-91. On the play's intellectual background see now Clements 2014. For Aristophanes' use of Euripides more generally see e.g. Silk 2000, 322-34, 415-17.

28 Cf. Silk 2000, 48-52, who stresses the importance of Euripidean experimentation for Aristophanes.

29 Cf. esp. *Frogs* 959-60 where Euripides vaunts his staging of 'everyday matters': οἰκεῖα πράγματα' εἰσάγων, οἷς χρόμμεθ', οἷς ξύνεσμεν, / ἐξ ὧν γ' ἂν ἐξηλεγχόμην. Cf. however Silk 2000, 242-5 on the problematics of the 'realist' depiction of Euripides himself.

30 Mnesilochus' speech to the assembly at 466-519, in arguing that Euripides omits to speak of the vast number of terrible things that women actually do, simultaneously bolsters Euripides' claims to verisimilitude, justifying his attacks on them (cf. ὅτι τῇ τραγωδῶ καὶ

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κακῶς αὐτὰς λέγω, 85), and points out the limitations of this discourse; the fact that Aristophanes' own play thereby includes a far more obvious exposure of female peccadillo than anything in Euripides' corpus is another instance of his (ironically) transformative take on Euripidean realism. For dramatic verisimilitude cf. the exchange at 909-10: Ev. 'Ἐλένη σ' ὁμοίαν δὴ μάλιστ' εἶδον, γύναι. / Κη. ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελέω σ' ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν ἀμφίων.



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## Sur la distinction établie par Aristide Quintilien (I, 18) entre rythmiciens *συμπλέκοντες* et *χωρίζοντες*

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### Abstract

The distinction by Aristides Quintilianus (I, 18) between *συμπλέκοντες* and *χωρίζοντες* rhythmicians, does not draw a contrast between two rhythmical doctrines or between rhythmicians and metricians, but between the defenders of two methods of classifying rhythms according to two different rhythmical traditions. It is both exact and fruitful : it not only throws light on the lost part of Aristoxenus' *Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* (one of the main *χωρίζοντες*) and on the sources of Aristides Quintilianus' rhythmical theory, but also enables us to classify almost mechanically all ancient testimonies about Greek and Roman rhythmic. Neither of these two traditions is homogeneous : among the *χωρίζοντες*, there are the *canonicians* (the mere arithmeticians), empiricists like Aristoxenus and the disciples of the dogmatic physician Herophilus; and, among the *συμπλέκοντες*, there are philosophers, rhetors, musicians and metricians. Finally, the *orchestic* tradition falls outside the dichotomy between *χωρίζοντες* and *συμπλέκοντες*.

### Keywords

Aristoxenus – Aristides Quintilianus – rhythmic

On a depuis longtemps reconnu que la section I, 13 du *Περὶ μουσικῆς* d'Aristide Quintilien consistait essentiellement en un résumé du livre I des *Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* d'Aristoxène<sup>1</sup> et que ses sections I, 14-19 contenaient nombre d'enseignements tirés de leur livre II<sup>2</sup>. De toute évidence, ce traité n'est cependant

<sup>1</sup> Voir Bartels 1854, 18-20 et Rossbach 1854, 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Voir Morelli 1785, XXXIX.

pas la seule source de la rythmique d'Aristide (I, 13-19 et II, 15 : 31, 3-40, 27 et 82, 4-84, 10 Winnington-Ingram [= w.-I.])<sup>3</sup>. Au beau milieu de son chapitre περί ρυθμῶν (I, 18 : 38, 15-17 w.-I.), celui-ci écrit en effet : οἱ μὲν οὖν συμπλέκοντες τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ τὴν περί ρυθμῶν τοιαύτην τινὰ πεποιήνται τὴν τεχνολογίαν, οἱ δὲ χωρίζοντες ἐτέρως ποιοῦσιν ("Ceux qui associent à la théorie métrique celle qui concerne les rythmes procèdent ainsi dans leurs traités techniques, ceux qui l'en séparent procèdent autrement"). Il découle de cette indication que l'exposé la précédant appartient à *ceux qui associaient la théorie des rythmes à la métrique* et que celui qui la suit est emprunté à *ceux qui l'en dissociaient*. Jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale, l'immense majorité des philologues qui ont étudié ce passage d'Aristide a reconnu Aristoxène ou ses disciples dans les χωρίζοντες<sup>4</sup>, au point qu'on a pu affirmer l'évidence d'une telle identification : "Hanc rationem vere esse Aristoxeniam nemo negabit, qui hunc locum cum Aristoxeni verbis p. 302 Mor. [§ 31-36] contulerit"<sup>5</sup>. Mais depuis une trentaine d'années, la majorité des spécialistes assimile au contraire Aristoxène aux συμπλέκοντες<sup>6</sup>. Le présent article se propose donc d'exposer les malentendus qui sont à l'origine d'un tel revirement et de montrer que, tout comme celle

3 Contrairement à ce que prétend G. Moretti (2006, 36), J. Cæsar, L. Rowell, T.J. Mathiesen et L. Calvié n'ont jamais affirmé que "la fonte di Aristide è esclusivamente Aristosseno, *Elementi ritmici*". Cæsar (1861, IX et 30, puis 1863, 884-885) a d'abord estimé qu'on manquait de matériel pour en distinguer les sources "ohne die grösste Willkür" et a simplement indiqué sa dépendance générale à l'égard d'Aristoxène; plus tard (Cæsar 1866, 1589), il a présenté Aristide comme un "Epitomator des Aristoxenus", qui utiliserait aussi une autre source traitant de la "praktische Anwendung des Rhythmus im Metrum". Rowell (1979, 65-66) ne s'est pas prononcé sur la question : il a seulement comparé le contenu du fragment d'Aristoxène et de la rythmique d'Aristide pour déterminer le *context* du premier. Mathiesen (1983, 24) a affirmé la dualité des sources d'Aristide ("the sources for this part appear to be an Aristoxenian treatise [...] and a metrics handbook"), tout comme Calvié (2000a, 118) : "son traité de rythmique est ainsi orthodoxe, à l'exception d'un chapitre [I, 15-17], où il rapporte explicitement une autre théorie".

4 Voir Bartels 1854, 52-53, Rossbach 1854, 20-21, 110, Westphal 1861, 15-17, 253, Susemihl 1863, 879, Westphal 1863, XL-XLI, Westphal 1865a, 157-163, Westphal 1865b, 52-59, Weil 1865, 649-651, Cæsar 1866, 1589, Susemihl 1866, Westphal 1867, 89-92, 581, 590, Brambach 1869, XXI, XXXVII, Susemihl 1870, 510-512, Brambach 1871, 6, 11, Nietzsche 1993, 220, 314, Susemihl 1873, 290-292, Muller 1880, 50-51, Gevaert 1881, 7, Amsel 1886, 9, Kalkner 1892, 47, Susemihl 1892, 222-223, Gleditsch 1901, 68-69, Goodell 1902, 9-10, Weil 1902, 163-169, Succo 1906, 250, Seydel 1914, 777, Fränkel 1918, 192-193, Schäffe 1937, 91-92. Pour des notices détaillées des travaux sur les rythmicistes grecs antérieurs à 1921, voir Calvié 2015.

5 Kalkner 1892, 47.

6 Mathiesen 1983, 25, 102, Cristante 1987, 48, Barker 1989, 442-443, West 1992, 245, Mathiesen 1999, 539-540, Moretti 2006, 68-69, Andreatta 2010, 1 et Moretti 2010, 132, 272, 279. La thèse

des deux traditions de métriciens dites des μέτρα πρωτότυπα et des *metra derivata*<sup>7</sup>, la distinction des rythmiciens συμπλέκοντες et χωρίζοντες, qui ne laisse aucun doute sur l'appartenance d'Aristoxène à ces derniers, est aussi précise que féconde, tant pour le jour qu'elle jette sur la partie perdue de ses ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα et les sources de la rythmique d'Aristide que pour le classement qu'elle permet de tous les témoignages anciens sur la rythmique antique.

# 1      **Aristide oppose deux classements des *rythmes* et non deux *rythmiques***

Au début de la section I, 18 de son Περὶ μουσικῆς, Aristide ne distingue pas à proprement parler deux écoles de rythmiciens (οἱ συμπλέκοντες et οἱ χωρίζοντες) ou deux théories rythmiques en bonne et due forme, mais deux manières différentes (οἱ μὲν οὖν [...] τοιαύτην τινὰ πεποιήνται [...], οἱ δὲ [...] ἑτέρως ποιοῦσιν) de traiter des rythmes en termes techniques (τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τεχνολογίαν), c'est-à-dire deux classements des rythmes : l'expression περὶ ῥυθμῶν au pluriel, qui doit être interprétée au sens propre (Aristide n'est pas en train de traiter des temps ni des pieds, mais des rythmes eux-mêmes qui sont composés de pieds), renvoie en effet au pluriel employé par le musico-graphe dans l'énoncé de la division d'ensemble des rythmes (τῶν ῥυθμῶν τοίνυν οἱ μὲν εἰσι σύνθετοι, οἱ δὲ ἀσύνθετοι, <οἱ δὲ μικτοί> : "Parmi les rythmes, certains sont donc composés, d'autres incomposés, <d'autres mixtes>"), commune aux συμπλέκοντες et aux χωρίζοντες, qui inaugure le chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν (I, 14 : 34, 19 w.-I.). Cette distinction ne doit donc pas porter sur la totalité du texte de la ῥυθμικὴ θεωρία d'Aristide (I, 13-19 et II, 15 : 31, 3-40, 27 et 82, 4-84, 10 w.-I.), mais sur ses seules sections I, 14 (dernier paragraphe)-18 (34, 19-39, 25 w.-I.) qui en forment le chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν<sup>8</sup>. Appartient ainsi assurément à *ceux qui associent la théorie des rythmes à la métrique* le classement des rythmes exposé en I, 15-17 (35, 3-38, 14 w.-I.) et à *ceux qui l'en dissocient* celui qui est présenté en I, 18 (38, 17-39, 25 w.-I.). Ayant pris l'expression τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τεχνολογίαν pour une périphrase *synecdochique* désignant la ῥυθμικὴ θεωρία

contraire est cependant défendue dans Comotti 1979, 47, Gentili 1988, 13, Luque 1995, 32-47, Colomer 1996, 93, Calvié 2000a, 118 et Calvié 2007, 259-261.

7 Voir Westphal 1865a, 56, 94, Westphal 1867, 138, 175, Westphal 1885, 203-205, Leo, F. 1889, Wilamowitz 1921, 58-85, Leonhardt 1989, Pretagostini 1993, 372-382 [= Pretagostini 2011, 217-225] et Alessandro 2012, 25-51.

8 Voir par exemple Westphal 1865a, 158-159, Weil 1865, 649, traduit en français dans Weil 1902, 164, Susemihl 1866, 4-6 et Westphal 1867, 89-93.

dans son ensemble, G. Hermann a attribué aux *συμπλέκοντες* la partie du traité précédant cette distinction (I, 13-17) et aux *χωρίζοντες* la totalité de la suite (I, 18-19) : “Aristides stellt zwei verschiedene Systeme auf, das eine *συμπλέκοντες* τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν, das andere τῶν χωρίζοντων. s. S. 40. Das erstere erklärt er von S. 31 bis 40, das zweite von S. 40 bis 42”; et ayant reconnu la théorie aristoxénienne des sept différences spécifiques des pieds dans la section I, 14 (33, 14-28 w.-I.), il a suggéré qu’Aristoxène se rattachait d’une manière ou d’une autre aux *συμπλέκοντες* : “Nach dem erstern theilt er S. 34, wie Aristoxenus *Fr. rhythm.* p. 296, die Füße siebenfach ein”<sup>9</sup>. À cette erreur de G. Hermann, s’apparentent celles de T. Mathiesen, A. Barker, M. West et G. Moretti, qui considèrent tous quatre la section I, 18 (38, 15-39, 25 w.-I.) comme un élément étranger à l’ensemble de la rythmique d’Aristide (I, 13-19 : 31, 3-40, 27 w.-I.) : pour le premier, c’est “a refutation” d’une théorie alternative à celle d’Aristoxène; pour le deuxième “a digression” présentant “the procedures of a rival school”; le troisième écrit : “Aristides Quintilianus, after expounding rhythm on Aristoxenean lines, describes the approach of others who made a clearer separation between rhythm and metre”; et la dernière la définit en ces termes : “In questo cap. AQ espone le procedure di una scuola differente da quella fino ora seguita, quella degli Aristossenici (οἱ συμπλέκοντες), che fondono la teoria ritmica a quella metrica. Questa seconda scuola, detta dei χωρίζοντες, separa teoria ritmica e metrica e procede con rapporti numerici”<sup>10</sup>. Une variante de la même erreur est procurée par W. Neumaier, qui ne paraît pas avoir vu que οἱ μὲν οὖν συμπλέκοντες s’opposait à οἱ δὲ χωρίζοντες, s’est imaginé que τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τεχνολογίαν désignait la rythmique aristoxénienne et a cru que le λόγος περὶ ῥυθμικῆς d’Aristide dans son entier (I, 13-19 : 31, 3-40, 27 w.-I.) “referiert nach seinen eigenen Worten eine Tradition, die die aristoxenische Rhythmik mit der Metrik kombinierte [n. 6 : (AQ) 31-40/Mb31-43. Die Mischung von Rhythmik und Metrik wird in (AQ) 38/Mb40 erwähnt]”<sup>11</sup>.

## 2 Aristide oppose deux sortes de *rythmiciens* et non les *rythmiciens* aux *métriciens*

Tout comme Aristoxène affirme au début du livre II de ses Ἀρμονικά στοιχεῖα (B 32 : 41, 9-11 Da Rios) que μέρος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀρμονικὴ πραγματεία τῆς τοῦ

9 Hermann 1834, 251.

10 Mathiesen 1983, 25 et 1999, 540, Barker 1989, 393, 442, West 1992, 245, Moretti 2006, 68 et Moretti 2010, 132.

11 Neumaier 1989, 60.

μουσικοῦ ἔξεως, καθάπερ ἡ τε ῥυθμικὴ καὶ ἡ μετρικὴ καὶ ἡ ὀργανικὴ ("car la discipline harmonique est une partie de la formation du musicien, au même titre que la rythmique, la métrique et l'organologie") Aristide distingue très nettement la rythmique et la métrique, que ce soit dans sa division de la musique (I, 5 : 6, 18 w.-I.), où il les présente comme des branches différentes de sa partie technique (τοῦ τε τεχνικοῦ μέρη τρία · ἁρμονικόν, ῥυθμικόν, μετρικόν : "la technique a trois parties : l'harmonique, la rythmique, la métrique"), ou dans le corps de son ouvrage, où il traite séparément de l'harmonique (I, 5-12 : 6, 24-31, 2 w.-I.), de la rythmique (I, 13-19 : 31, 3-40, 27 w.-I.) et de la métrique (I, 20-27 : 40, 28-52, 23 w.-I.). Or, c'est au sein même de sa rythmique qu'Aristide établit sa distinction entre οἱ μὲν οὖν συμπλέκοντες τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τοιαύτην τινὰ πεποιήνται τὴν τεχνολογίαν et *ceux qui font autrement* (οἱ δὲ χωρίζοντες ἑτέρως ποιοῦσιν). Comme l'unique objet des uns et des autres est le classement des rythmes (τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τεχνολογίαν), il ne peut s'agir que de deux types de rythmiciciens. C'est donc une nouvelle erreur que d'assimiler les συμπλέκοντες aux rythmiciciens (et donc à Aristoxène) et les χωρίζοντες aux métriciens : ces derniers ne séparent pas la métrique de la rythmique, mais la rythmique de la métrique (le complément d'objet de χωρίζοντες est nécessairement à l'accusatif, comme τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τεχνολογίαν, et pas au datif, comme τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ). La chose a été parfaitement comprise par G. Hermann ("Von beiden ist die Theorie der Metriker dadurch verschiden") et expliquée par T.G. Goodell : "The passage forms part of the section on ῥυθμικὴ [...]. The summary which follows is not easy to understand in detail, but is clearly *rhythmical*, a more or less remote echo of Aristoxenos, 302 Mor. It introduces the *κενοὶ χρόνοι*, or rests, deal with rhythmical ratios, and contains no suggestion of the purely *metrical* doctrine"<sup>12</sup>. La confusion des χωρίζοντες et des métriciens apparaît tout d'abord dans les travaux sur les œuvres stylistiques de Denys d'Halicarnasse de G. Mestwerdt ("Inde apparet, Dionysium non rhythmicam scientiam artis metricae fontem duxisse, sed eorum doctrinam secutum esse, qui metricas leges a rhythmicis disjunctas pro parte grammaticae habebant, eos dico, qui οἱ χωρίζοντες audiebant : quam ob rem illi metrici, quos adfert, grammatici intellegendi sunt") et É. Baudat : "Denys s'est rattaché à l'école de ceux qui rapportaient la métrique à la grammaire, en la séparant de la rythmique"<sup>13</sup>. De là, elle est passée dans les études de métriciens, tels que O. Schroeder ("ῥυθμικοί [H(eph.) 85, 4], auch μουσικοί, nannten sich die um Aristoxenos (ὁ μουσικός) [...]. Es sind die συμπλέκοντες τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν, von der sich dann als χωρίζοντες die μετρικοί fernhielten"), C. Del Grande ("Di qui le scuole

<sup>12</sup> Hermann 1834, 253 et Goodell 1902, 9-10.

<sup>13</sup> Mestwerdt 1868, 30 et Baudat 1879, 74.



dei *συνπλέκοντες*, o *unionisti*—cioè dei ritmici e musicisti che nell'esame di un testo poetico già musicato non ne dimenticavano l'unitaria genesi poetico-musicale—e dei *χωρίζοντες*, o *separatisti*, cioè dei grammatici, o *metrici*, che studiavano gli stessi testi, per quel ch'era metrica, soltanto in rapporto alla possibile interpretazione della successione podica”) et L. Andreatta : “I testi sono presentati in ordine cronologico; ho scelto tuttavia—laddove fosse rilevante, come è per l'interpretazione—di mantenere una divisione tra i principali indirizzi teorici : la scuola dei ritmici o musicisti (*συνπλέκοντες*) e quella dei metrici (*χωρίζοντες*)”<sup>14</sup>. On la trouve même dans un ouvrage sur Martianus Capella : “Di questa evoluzione del ritmo e del metro poetico dà testimonianza ancora il *de musica* di Aristide Quintiliano che distingue la dottrina dei *συνπλέκοντες*, cioè dei ritmici e musicisti che considerano il testo poetico come un *unicum* poetico-musicale, da quella dei *χωρίζοντες*, cioè dei grammatici e metricologi che analizzano il testo poetico solo dal punto di vista metrico”<sup>15</sup>. À cette erreur se rattache également la thèse opposée, qui assimile les *συνπλέκοντες* aux *métriciens* et les *χωρίζοντες* aux *rythmiciens*. Elle apparaît chez W. Brambach (“Deshalb werden die strengen Rhythmiker geradezu als Chorizonten bezeichnet [...] ; die Theorie der *συνπλέκοντες* ist bekannt, sie ist diejenige der Metriker von den Tagen alexandrinischer Gelehrsamkeit bis auf unsere Zeit”), puis dans la traduction de F. Duysinx : “Voilà quels sont les termes techniques que se sont créés les spécialistes qui englobent la théorie rythmique dans celle de la *métrique*. Mais ceux qui séparent [ces deux disciplines] procèdent autrement [n. 5 : ce sont les *rythmiciens*]”<sup>16</sup>.

### 3 Aristide oppose deux *méthodes* et non deux *doctrines* rythmiques

Il y a plus d'un siècle que C. Ruelle a expliqué l'erreur fondamentale sur laquelle reposait toute la *Quellenforschung* westphalienne de la rythmique d'Aristide<sup>17</sup> : le *De musica* de ce dernier, qui n'est pas, comme celui de Plutarque, formé d'"extraits textuels d'Héraclide du Pont, d'Aristoxène et d'autres sources

14 Schroeder 1929, 41, Del Grande 1960, 246 et Andreatta 2010, 1.

15 Cristante 1987, 48.

16 Brambach 1869, XXIII et Duysinx 1999, 91. Voir aussi Brambach 1871, 6.

17 Pour cette *Quellenforschung*, voir Rossbach 1854, 11-12, Westphal 1861, VIII, 16-17, Westphal 1863, XL-XLI, Susemihl 1863, 879-880, Westphal 1865b, x, 13-18, 52-59, Westphal 1865a, 157-169, Weil 1865, 649-650 (traduit en français dans Weil 1902, 164-169), Susemihl 1866, 4-6, 10-12, 14-15, Westphal 1867, 89-98, Susemihl 1870, 511-512, Westphal 1883, 140-143, 158-159 et Westphal 1885, 23, qui reproduit finalement Westphal 1861, 16-17.

inconnues”, ne doit pas être considéré comme “une simple compilation”<sup>18</sup>. Aristide n’est de fait ni un *épitomateur*, comme Psellos, ni un “commentateur” d’Aristoxène, ni un “unwissenden Compiler”<sup>19</sup> : c’est un savant auteur qui structure et accorde tout ce que les traditions philosophiques et musicales de la Grèce ont rapporté de *mémorable* sur la musique en un système unifié, plus rhétorique que philosophique, qu’il place (I, 1 : 2, 17-20 W.-I.) sous l’égide d’un prétendu Pythagoricien dénommé Panacée (μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ θεῖος λόγος ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ Πανάκew τοῦ Πυθαγορείου, ὃς φησιν ἔργον εἶναι μουσικῆς οὐ τὰ φωνῆς μέρη μόνον συνιστᾶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἀλλὰ πάνθ’ ὅσα φύσιν ἔχει συνάγειν τε καὶ συναρμόττειν : “Il témoigne pour moi le divin discours du sage Panacée le Pythagoricien, qui dit que *l’œuvre de la musique n’est pas seulement d’assembler entre elles les différentes parties d’une voix, mais de réunir et d’harmoniser tout ce qui a une constitution physique*”) et qu’on peut désigner par le néologisme de *panmusicalisme*<sup>20</sup>. Comme les enseignements musicaux qu’il doit *harmoniser* ne s’accordent pas toujours, il arrive au *rhéteur panmusicaliste* de modifier sur des points de détail les doctrines quelquefois discordantes qu’il introduit dans un système général assez original. Ainsi défigure-t-il plus d’une fois la théorie aristoxénienne pour la plier à des impératifs purement arithmétiques<sup>21</sup>. Il peut en résulter d’importantes contradictions entre son résumé ainsi réaménagé et sa source principale : mais il n’y a pas là de raison valable pour ne pas reconnaître celle-ci sous les oripeaux de son *panmusicalisme syncrétique*. On ne peut par exemple refuser d’identifier les χωρίζοντες et Aristoxène, sous prétexte que les premiers auraient, suivant Aristide, admis les grandeurs de deux temps premiers (δίσημα) au nombre des pieds rythmiques et l’épitríte (4/3) au nombre des rapports rythmiques, alors que le second les a expressément rejetés dans ses ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα (§ 30-31 et § 35) : ces deux points de doctrine sont indépendants de la méthode adoptée pour classer les rythmes et sont des constantes de la rythmique d’Aristide, puisqu’ils figurent aussi dans les passages dont nul ne met en doute l’aristoxénisme (I, 14 : 34, 4-5 W.-I.)<sup>22</sup>. Comme plus tard Michel Psellos (§ 9 et § 11), Aristide, qui avait indubitablement “il gusto dell’eclettismo”<sup>23</sup>, a encore dû conformer la doctrine aristoxénienne des

18 Ruelle 1910, 315-317. Voir aussi Caesar 1861, IX, 30, Jan 1861, 444-445, Caesar 1863, 884-885, Jan 1864, 588, Caesar 1866, 1589, Jan 1870, 13, Jan 1883, 1196-1197, Amsel 1886, 9-10, Jan 1896, 894-895, Juszat 1893, 192-194, Seydel 1907, 108 et Seydel 1914, 77.

19 Sauvanet 1999, 120, Westphal 1867, VIII-IX et Westphal 1885, 23.

20 Calvié 2000b, 108-109, Calvié 2002, 30-34 et Calvié 2007, 360.

21 Voir Calvié 2004, 96-105.

22 Sur ce qui précède, voir Calvié 2007, 245-257.

23 Zanoncelli 1977, 86. Voir aussi Ruelle 1910, 317.

genres de pieds au dogme *canonicien* de l'unité des rapports rythmiques et harmoniques<sup>24</sup> et la rendre ainsi méconnaissable à des yeux peu avertis de ses pratiques *hypertextuelles*<sup>25</sup>. Ayant d'emblée affirmé (I, 14 : 33, 30; 34, 4 et 34, 13-14 W.-I.) que certains rythmiciens (προστιθέασι δέ τινες καὶ τὸ ἐπίτριτον : "certains ajoutent aussi l'épitríte") considéraient l'épitríte comme un genre rythmique supplémentaire (d'un emploi certes plus rare que celui de l'égal, du double et de l'hémiole : σπάνιος δὲ ἡ χρῆσις αὐτοῦ) auquel devaient être rapportés les pieds de sept et quatorze temps premiers (τὸ δ' ἐπίτριτον ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ ἐπτασήμου, γίνεται δὲ ἕως τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάσημου : "l'épitríte part du pied de sept temps [premiers] et va jusqu'à celui de quatorze"), il était obligé, pour préserver la cohérence de son exposé, de modifier systématiquement la théorie de sa source; et il en va de même de la rythmicité des pieds de deux temps premiers (*disèmes*). Peu importe donc que les χωρίζοντες d'Aristide "gegen die Lehre des Aristoxenos Tacte von zwei Moren anerkannten", que "Aristoxenos habe die beiden secundäre Tactarten, die epitritische und triplasische, von denen bei Aristides und seinen χωρίζοντες sich bekanntlich nur die erstere findet, noch nicht gekannt" et que "neither rhythms of two durations, if these are construed as *primary* durations, nor rhythms in epitritic ratio are accepted by Aristoxenus (*El. Rhythm.* II. 31, 35)"<sup>26</sup>, ce qui oppose χωρίζοντες et συμπλέκοντες, ce n'est pas la doctrine que leur attribue Aristide, c'est leur méthode.

#### 4 L'arithmétisme des χωρίζοντες est d'origine aristoxénienne et non pythagoricienne

La principale raison de refuser d'identifier Aristoxène (ou les rythmiciens aristoxéniens) et les χωρίζοντες est précisément que ces derniers suivent une méthode purement arithmétique (et donc présumée pythagoricienne), alors

24 Porphyre (*In Ptol. Harm.*, p. 37-38 Düring) cite un passage du Περὶ ὁμοιοτήτων de Denys le Musicien où celui-ci rapporte la théorie des canoniciens (οἱ κανονικοί) suivant laquelle μία σχεδὸν καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ οὐσία ἐστὶ ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ μέλους ("le rythme et la mélodie sont presque de la même essence") et le commente en des termes voisins de ceux de Psellos (§ 9 et § 11) : καὶ οἱ ῥυθμητικοὶ πόδες κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους λόγους διακεκριμένοι τυγχάνουσι κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἴσον καὶ διπλάσιον καὶ ἡμιόλιον οἱ πλείστοι καὶ εὐφύεστατοι, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπίτριτον καὶ κατὰ τὸν τριπλάσιον. Selon lui, ces κανονικοί étaient les rivaux des aristoxéniens, c'est-à-dire les pythagoriciens (p. 23 Düring) : Διαφέρουσι δὲ μουσικοὶ καὶ οἱ κανονικοί · μουσικοὶ μὲν γὰρ λέγονται οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀρμώμενοι ἀρμονικοί, κανονικοὶ δ' οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ οἱ ἀρμονικοί.

25 Voir Calvié 2014b.

26 Susemihl 1873, 291 et Barker 1989, 443.

que le disciple d'Aristote défendait la prééminence de l'αἴσθησις sur l'ἀριθμός : "Aristoxène fonde pour la première fois dans l'Antiquité, une science musicale indépendante des mathématiques, autonome, c'est-à-dire régie par des principes à elle propres et dotée d'une méthode adaptée à sa nature, aux objets qu'elle étudie, à ses buts, fondée sur deux critères directement liés à sa spécificité : l'oreille, l'*aisthêsis*, et la pensée rationnelle, la *dianoia* [...] : l'objet de la science harmonique est en propre le son musical et non pas la grandeur mathématique"<sup>27</sup>. On ne peut cependant transposer mécaniquement au domaine rythmique cette opposition fondamentale en harmonique, car on a également affirmé que la rythmique d'Aristoxène était "au rythme ce que le pythagorisme est à la mélodie" : "Le rythme, qui ailleurs semble être pour lui un langage véritable, se réduit ici à un simple jeu de chiffres : Aristoxène fait pour lui ce que les pythagoriciens ont fait pour la consonance"<sup>28</sup>. Au nom de l'αἴσθησις, dont le caractère principal est rappelé au § 2 de ses Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα (ὅτι μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐστὶ καὶ τὴν τούτων αἴσθησιν [...] λεκτέον δὲ καὶ πάλιν νῦν· ἀρχὴ γὰρ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἐπιστήμης ἐστὶν αὕτη : "Qu'il [le rythme qui est ordonné en musique] a pour domaine les temps et la sensation qu'on en a [...], il faut aussi le répéter maintenant, car, d'une certaine manière, celle-ci est le principe de la science dévolue aux rythmes"), ce dernier paraît certes s'opposer implicitement au dogme *canonicien* de l'unité des rapports rythmiques et harmoniques (Porph., *In Ptol. Harm.*, 37-38 Düring)<sup>29</sup>, en ne mentionnant pas parmi les premiers le triple et l'épitrète (§ 30, § 32 et § 35), mais il n'en reconnaît pas moins la rythmicité des rapports égaux, doubles et hémioles (§ 24 et § 30); et s'il a distingué la rationalité purement arithmétique (τὸ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀριθμῶν λόγους ῥητόν) et la rationalité rythmique (τὸ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ φύσιν ῥητόν), il s'est bien gardé de les opposer de manière inconciliable, bien au contraire (§ 21) : chez lui, la première, qui est au fondement de toute rationalité, doit être confirmée par la seconde, qui suppose l'épreuve de la réalisation concrète (la ῥυθμοποιία) et l'approbation de l'αἴσθησις. C'est que ses principaux adversaires en rythmique ne sont pas les pythagoriciens, mais les anciens rythmiciens *syllabistes*, qui considéraient la syllabe comme l'unité de mesure du rythme, tout comme ont dû le faire les rythmiciens συμπλέκοντες d'Aristide. Michel Psellos le dit expressément au § 1 de ses Προλαμβανόμενα εἰς τὴν ῥυθμικὴν ἐπιστήμην, qui consistent en des extraits presque bruts des livres I et II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène : Καὶ πρῶτόν γε ὅτι πᾶν μέτρον πρὸς τὸ μετρούμενόν πως καὶ πέφυκε καὶ λέγεται, ὥστε καὶ συλλαβὴ οὕτως ἂν ἔχη πρὸς

27 Bélis 1996, 355-356. Voir aussi Bélis 1986, 87-129.

28 Laloy 1904a, 285, 350.

29 Rien ne prouve cependant que ce dogme soit antérieur à la rythmique aristoxénienne ...

τὸν ῥυθμὸν ὡς τὸ μέτρον πρὸς τὸ μετρούμενον, εἴπερ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷον μετρεῖν τὸν ῥυθμὸν. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν τὸν λόγον παλαιοὶ ἔφασαν ῥυθμικοί, ὁ δὲ γε Ἀριστόξενος “οὐκ ἔστι, φησὶ, μέτρον ἢ συλλαβή” (“Et tout d’abord, que toute unité de mesure a par nature et est dite avoir une certaine relation avec la chose mesurée : la syllabe sera donc elle aussi au rythme ce que l’unité de mesure est à la chose mesurée, si elle est capable de mesurer le rythme. C’est là la thèse qu’ont soutenue d’anciens rythmiciens; mais Aristoxène affirme que *la syllabe n’est pas l’unité de mesure du rythme*”)<sup>30</sup>. Le fait que les *χωρίζοντες* (“like the Pythagorean harmonic theorists”) begin from mathematical principles”, que leur procédé présente ainsi “some affinities with aspects of Pythagorean harmonics” et que les “*chorizontes*, come i pitagorici, prediligono l’uso del numero” n’implique donc nullement que leur méthode de classement des rythmes diffère de celle d’Aristoxène (“with perhaps two exceptions [...] their results are similar to those of the Aristoxenians; it is their method that differs”)<sup>31</sup>. Le fondateur de la rythmique temporelle<sup>32</sup> fait du χρόνος πρῶτος l’unité de mesure du rythme et du principe suivant lequel celui-ci repose “sur les temps et leur perception” l’ἀρχὴ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἐπιστήμης (§ 2) : or son maître, Aristote, définit le temps comme l’ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον (*Phys.* IV, II, 219b 1-2). Contrairement au μέλος, le ῥυθμός (= *numerus*) a partie liée à l’ἀριθμός.

## 5 La distinction des ῥυθμοὶ ἀσύνθετοι, σύνθετοι et μικτοὶ (I, 14), qui structure le classement des *χωρίζοντες*, est aristoxénienne

La distinction des ἀσύνθετοι et des σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί, qui structure, chez Aristide, l’exposé de la méthode des *χωρίζοντες* (I, 18 : 38, 17-39, 2 et 39, 3-25 W.-I.), est conforme à celle qu’il a précédemment énoncée (I, 14 : 34, 19-24 W.-I.) et qui, comme on l’a dit ci-dessus, est commune aux *συμπλέκοντες* et aux *χωρίζοντες* : τῶν ῥυθμῶν τοίνυν οἱ μὲν εἰσι σύνθετοι, οἱ δὲ ἀσύνθετοι, <οἱ δὲ μικτοὶ> · σύνθετοι μὲν οἱ ἐκ δύο γένων ἢ καὶ πλειόνων συνεστῶτες, ὡς οἱ δωδεκάσημοι, ἀσύνθετοι δὲ οἱ ἐνὶ γένει ποδικῶ χρώμενοι, ὡς οἱ τετράσημοι, μικτοὶ δὲ οἱ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς χρόνους, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλυόμενοι, ὡς οἱ ἐξάσημοι (“parmi les rythmes, certains sont composés, d’autres incomposés, <d’autres mixtes> : sont composés, ceux qui sont formés de l’assemblage de deux genres ou même davantage, comme ceux de douze temps [premiers]; incomposés, ceux qui n’emploient qu’un seul genre

30 On trouvera la première édition critique et une étude philologique approfondie de l’opus-cule rythmique de Psellos dans Calvié 2014a.

31 Barker 1989, 442-443 et Moretti 2006, 69 (reproduit dans Moretti 2010, 279).

32 Voir Calvié 2007, 190-195.

de pied, comme ceux de quatre temps; et mixtes, ceux qui se résolvent tantôt en temps, tantôt en rythmes, comme ceux de six temps"). Si la catégorie des ῥυθμοὶ μικτοὶ n'est pas reprise en I, 18 (38, 17-39, 25 W.-I.), alors qu'elle l'est en I, 17 (38, 3-11 W.-I.), c'est que, contrairement aux deux autres, elle ne nécessite pas l'introduction d'une méthode de classement particulière : en suivant les deux procédures décrites en I, 18 (38, 17-39, 2 et 39, 3-25 W.-I.), les rythmes qui lui appartiennent peuvent en effet être rangés à la fois parmi les ῥυθμοὶ ἀσύνθετοι et parmi les σύνθετοι. Elle rappelle en cela la dernière des trois catégories de χρόνοι (σύνθετοι, ἀσύνθετοι et μικτοὶ) distinguées par Aristoxène dans ses 'Ρυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα (§ 15), où μικτός est glosé par πῇ δὲ σύνθετος καὶ πῇ ἀσύνθετος, tout comme chez Aristide (I, 14 : 34, 23 W.-I.) les ῥυθμοὶ μικτοὶ sont définis par leur ambivalence (οἱ ποτὲ εἰς χρόνους, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ῥυθμούς ἀναλυόμενοι). La distinction des ἀσύνθετοι et des σύνθετοι ῥυθμοὶ est d'autre part analogue (du point de vue théorique et terminologique) à celle qu'établit Aristoxène lui-même entre les σύνθετοι πόδες et les ἀσύνθετοι πόδες (§ 26 : οἱ δ' ἀσύνθετοι τῶν συνθέτων διαφέρουσι τῷ μὴ διαιρεῖσθαι εἰς πόδας, τῶν συνθέτων διαιρουμένων [« les pieds incomposés diffèrent des composés en ce qu'ils ne se décomposent pas en pieds, alors que les composés le font »]) et qui figure elle aussi dans la section I, 14 (33, 18-19 W.-I.) d'Aristide : ἀπλοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν οἱ εἰς χρόνους διαιρούμενοι, σύνθετοι δὲ οἱ καὶ εἰς πόδας ἀναλυόμενοι (noter le parallélisme entre εἰς ῥυθμούς ἀναλυόμενοι et εἰς πόδας ἀναλυόμενοι : « les pieds simples sont ceux qui se résolvent en temps, les composés ceux qui se résolvent également en pieds »). Or au § 16 du fragment d'Aristoxène, la définition du pied (ᾧ δὲ σημαίνομεθα τὸν ῥυθμὸν καὶ γινώριμον ποιούμεν τῇ αἰσθήσει πούς ἐστιν εἷς ἢ πλείους ἑνός : « quant au temps qui nous permet de battre le rythme et de le faire ainsi reconnaître au sens, c'est le pied—un seul ou plus d'un »), qui laisse entendre que certains rythmes ne peuvent être identifiés à l'aide d'un seul pied (εἷς), suppose l'existence de rythmes composés de pieds de genres différents (πλείους ἑνός)<sup>33</sup> ; et dans le principal passage rythmique de ses 'Αρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα (B34 : 43, 19-20 Da Rios), Aristoxène oppose le πούς à la συζυγία (καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέγεθος πόδα τε δύναται καὶ συζυγίαν), comme s'il s'agissait de deux modes de formation des ῥυθμοὶ. Après avoir traité des pieds, il devait donc aborder la question des rythmes et distinguer ceux qui étaient formés d'un ou plusieurs pieds du même genre et ceux qui étaient composés de pieds de genres différents; et parmi les rythmes composés, il y a fort à penser qu'il ait distingué ceux qui l'étaient *par syzygie* (κατὰ συζυγίαν) et ceux qui l'étaient *par période* (κατὰ περίοδον), tout comme l'a fait Aristide, après avoir énoncé la tripartition aristoxénienne des

33 Voir Cäsar 1861, 288-289, Weil 1862, 348, Weil 1865, 653, Susemihl 1866, 10, Brambach 1871, 20-27, Muller 1880, 64, Weil 1902, 152-153, 169, Calvié 2007, 424-425 et Calvié 2014b.



rythmes (σύνθετοι, ἀσύνθετοι et μικτοὶ ῥυθμοί), au début de son propre chapitre περί ῥυθμῶν (I, 14 : 34, 19-24 W.-I.) : Τῶν δὲ συνθέτων οἱ μὲν εἰσι κατὰ συζυγίαν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ περίοδον. κατὰ συζυγίαν μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ δύο ποδῶν ἀπλῶν καὶ ἀνομοίων σύνθεσις, περίοδος δὲ πλειόνων. <Τῶν δὲ ἀνομοιοτήτων διαφοραὶ τρία · κατὰ μέγεθος, κατὰ γένος, κατὰ ἀντίθεσιν · κατὰ μέγεθος, ὡς ῥυθμὸς . . . · κατὰ γένος, ὡς . . . · κατὰ ἀντίθεσιν, ὅταν . . . > (I, 14 : 34, 24-35, 2 W.-I.)<sup>34</sup>. Deux objections peuvent cependant être opposées à cette hypothèse : (a) la structuration de l'exposé des συμπλέκοντες (I, 15-17 : 35, 3-38, 14 W.-I.) à l'aide de la même distinction entre ῥυθμοὶ ἀσύνθετοι, σύνθετοι et μικτοὶ et (b) les exemples donnés par Aristide (I, 14 : 34, 20-24 W.-I. : σύνθετοι μὲν [...], ὡς οἱ δωδεκάσημοι, ἀσύνθετοι δὲ [...], ὡς οἱ τετράσημοι, μικτοὶ δὲ [...], ὡς οἱ ἐξάσημοι : « les rythmes composés [...], comme les dodécasèmes, les inkomposés [...], comme les tétrasèmes, et les mixtes [...], comme les hexasèmes ») qui ne cadrent pas avec l'exposé des χωρίζοντες (I, 18 : 38, 17-39, 25 W.-I.), mais s'accordent avec celui des συμπλέκοντες et avec le classement des pieds (et non des rythmes) d'Aristoxène (§ 26). La première (a) n'est guère solide, car dans l'exposé des συμπλέκοντες, la catégorie des ῥυθμοὶ μικτοὶ (I, 17 : 37, 13-23 et 38, 3-12 W.-I.) paraît avoir été ajoutée de manière artificielle : tantôt (I, 17 : 37, 13-23 W.-I.), ces rythmes résultent en effet du mélange des genres (μιγνυμένων δὴ τῶν γενῶν τούτων εἶδη ῥυθμῶν γίνεται πλείονα : « du mélange de ces genres procèdent davantage d'espèces de rythmes ») et ne correspondent nullement aux μικτοὶ de I, 14 (34, 22-23 W.-I. : μικτοὶ δὲ οἱ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς χρόνους, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς ῥυθμοὺς ἀναλυόμενοι : « les rythmes mixtes sont ceux qui s'analysent tantôt en temps, tantôt en rythmes »), mais aux σύνθετοι (σύνθετοι

34 La traduction du passage par Martianus Capella laisse supposer que la partie du texte d'Aristide (la fin de I, 14, après 35, 2 W.-I.) correspondant au § 980 de l'encyclopédiste carthaginois et traitant des *différences des rythmes* (elle est ci-dessus partiellement restituée entre crochets obliques) s'est perdue : "At uero eorum, qui compositi esse dicuntur, alii per copulas, alii uero per periodum colligantur. etenim syzygia, id est copula, duorum pedum in unum est astricta conexio, qui [in] dissimiles sibi positi esse uideantur. periodos sane est pedum compositio plurimorum, qui dissimiles sibi pares sociantur. [980] Dissimilitudinum sane differentiae tres erunt : per magnitudinem, per genus, per oppositionem; per magnitudinem, cum ex disemo uel tetrasemo componitur numerus; per genus, cum diplasium aut hemiolium simul jungimus, uel quod ex pluribus aequaliter copulatur; per oppositionem, id est per antithesin, cum aut primos disemos ponimus insequentibus longe potioribus, aut tetrasemos disemis insequentibus applicamus. Verum notum esse conuenient unum etiam pedem posse sufficere ad complendam periodon, si solus ceteris inaequalis inseritur" (IX, 979-980 : 64, 10-65, 6 Guillaumin). À la suite de Cæsar (1861, 245-247), on a montré ailleurs (Calvié 2014c et 2016) que la doctrine des douze modes de la métabole rythmique rapportée par Aristide nécessite en effet la présence d'un tel développement au début de son chapitre περί ῥυθμῶν.

μὲν οἱ ἐκ δύο γενῶν ἢ καὶ πλειόνων συνεστῶτες : « les rythmes composés sont ceux qui sont constitués de deux genres et même davantage »); tantôt (I, 17 : 38, 3-12 w.-I.), ces prétendus *rythmes mixtes* ne sont rien d'autre que des pieds composés (πόδες σύνθετοι), conformes à la définition qu'en donne Aristide en I, 14 (33, 18-19 w.-I. : ἀπλοὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ εἰς χρόνους διαιρούμενοι, σύνθετοι δὲ οἱ καὶ εἰς πόδας ἀναλυόμενοι : « les pieds simples sont ceux qui se décomposent en temps, les composés ceux qui s'analysent également en pieds »)<sup>35</sup>. Ce serait ainsi par un *artifice syncrétique*, fondé sur l'assimilation (ou la confusion) des pieds et des rythmes<sup>36</sup>, qu'Aristide se serait servi de la distinction entre ῥυθμοὶ ἀσύνθετοι, σύνθετοι et μικτοὶ pour structurer l'exposé de la doctrine des rythmes attribuée aux συμπλέκοντες. On peut du même coup rejeter la seconde objection (b), en considérant que les exemples donnés par Aristide (I, 14 : 34, 20-24 w.-I.) n'ont d'autre fonction que de masquer cet artifice et de rattacher plus étroitement les sections I, 15-17 à la fin de I, 14. Même si l'on n'a pas conservé le chapitre περὶ ῥυθμῶν que devait à l'origine présenter la partie perdue du livre II des Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène<sup>37</sup>, il convient donc d'attribuer à ce dernier la distinction des rythmes incomposés (ἀσύνθετοι ῥυθμοί), formés d'un ou plusieurs pieds du même genre, et des rythmes composés (σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί), constitués de pieds de genres différents, et de lui rendre du même coup la fin de la section d'Aristide où elle est exposée (I, 14 : 34, 19-35, 2 w.-I.) et celle (I, 18 : 38, 17-39, 25) où elle est mise en œuvre dans le cadre d'une méthode par ailleurs analogue à celle qu'il décrit aux § 22-29 de son fragment rythmique et met en application aux § 31-36, dans la question des pieds (et non des rythmes).

## 6 Les χωρίζοντες appliquent aux rythmes composés la méthode aristoxénienne de classement des pieds

Quand T. Mathiesen expose la démarche des χωρίζοντες ("Some rhythmic theorists apparently conceived rhythm in terms of numbers of chronoi,

35 C'est par exemple le cas du "dactyle iambique, qui est formé d'un iambe en guise de poser et d'un iambe en guise de lever" (1 + 2/1 + 2) : δάκτυλος κατ' ἰαμβον, ὃς σύγκειται ἐξ ἰάμβου θέσεως καὶ ἰάμβου ἄρσεως (I, 17 : 38, 5-6 w.-I.). C'est un *pied composé*, car on peut l'*analyser* comme un pied de six temps du *genre dactylique* ou *égal* (3/3) et comme un pied formé de deux *pieds iambiques* (1 + 2/1 + 2); mais, considéré comme rythme, c'est un *rythme simple*, car les deux pieds dont il est formé sont du même *genre rythmique* (le *genre iambique* ou *double*).

36 Sur la rigoureuse distinction aristoxénienne des pieds et des rythmes, et sur la confusion partielle de ces deux éléments chez Aristide, voir Westphal 1861, 200-203 et 1867, 507.

37 Sur cette question, voir Calvié 2016.

divided on the basis of mere numerical ratios into rhythmic feet, apart from any consideration of their function within a meter”)<sup>38</sup>, qui rappellerait celle des *Harmonicists*, “who construct scales of the smallest possible intervals without an eye to the function of the notes”<sup>39</sup>, il décrit en effet précisément (mais sans s’en rendre compte) la *méthode arithmétique* employée par Aristoxène aux § 31-36 de ses *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα*. Car celle que les *χωρίζοντες* appliquent à l’analyse des rythmes composés dans la seconde partie de la section 1, 18 (39, 3-25 w.-1.) d’Aristide lui est absolument conforme<sup>40</sup>. Dans les deux cas, une grandeur temporelle étant donnée (*μέγεθος*), exprimée par le nombre entier naturel correspondant aux temps premiers qu’elle contient, on décompose celui-ci en couples de constituants immédiats (deux nombres entiers naturels dont il forme la somme) et l’on examine si les termes ainsi obtenus entrent dans l’un des rapports reconnus comme rythmiques ( $2/1$ ,  $2/2$  et  $3/2$ ). Au § 32 de ses *Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα*, Aristoxène prend ainsi la grandeur de quatre temps premiers (*τῷ τετρασήμεῳ μεγέθει*), la divise en deux couples de constituants immédiats ( $2+2$  et  $3+1$ ), qui entrent respectivement dans les rapports double et triple (*ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τέτρασι δύο λαμβάνονται λόγοι, ὃ τε τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ὁ τοῦ τριπλασίου* : « car en quatre sont saisis deux rapports, celui du double et celui du triple »), dont le premier seul ( $2/2$ ) est doué de rythme et caractérise le genre dactylique (*ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ τριπλασίου οὐκ ἔνρυθμός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἴσου εἰς τὸ δακτυλικὸν πίπτει γένος*). En 1, 18 (39, 9-17), Aristide prend pour sa part la grandeur de dix temps premiers (*δεκάδος*), la divise en deux couples de constituants immédiats ( $8+2$  et  $7+3$ ), dont le second ne forme aucun rapport rythmique (*οὐκ ἔσται λόγος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ῥυθμικός*) et dont le premier entre dans le rapport quadruple; comme ce dernier n’est pas doué de rythme (*οὐ γὰρ ἔρρυθμός ὁ τετραπλασίῳ λόγος*), il divise de nouveau son premier terme (8) en un couple de constituants immédiats ( $5+3$ ), qui n’entrent eux non plus dans aucun rapport rythmique (*οὐδ’ οὕτως ἔσται ῥυθμικός λόγος*); il lui faut donc répéter la même opération pour obtenir un nouveau couple (*τὸν πέντε πάλιν εἰς τρία καὶ δύο*) qui forme le rapport hémiole (*λέγω τὸν τρία πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν δισημῶν λόγον ἔχειν ἡμιόλιον*) et dont le premier terme (3) entre avec le second (2) de la première division ( $8+2$ ) dans un autre rapport hémiole ( $3/2$ ). La différence entre les deux passages ne réside donc pas dans la méthode déductive qui y est employée, dont les étapes sont strictement les mêmes, mais dans les objets auxquels elle est appliquée :

38 Mathiesen 1999, 539-540.

39 Mathiesen 1983, 25, 102. Voir aussi Barker 1989, 443.

40 Sur ce point, voir par exemple Westphal 1861, 203-206, Kalkner 1892, 47-49, Luque 1995, 35-38, Colomer 1996, 93 et Calvié 2007, 259-261. Pour une explication arithmétique de la méthode aristoxénienne, voir Nietzsche 1993, 108.

chez Aristoxène, il s'agit de pieds (πόδες), dont les constituants sont des χρόνοι, μέρη ou σημεία (§ 17-19); tandis que chez Aristide (I, 18 : 39, 3-25 W.-I.), ce sont des rythmes composés (οἱ σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί), dont les constituants sont apparemment des πόδες de genres différents. Si, comme le suggèrent le § 16 des 'Ρυθμικά στοιχεῖα et une citation aristoxénienne de Porphyre (*In Ptol. Harm.*, p. 79 Düring : πόδας συντίθεμεν ἐκ χρόνων : "nous formons des pieds avec des temps"; et πάντες οἱ ῥυθμοὶ ἐκ ποδῶν σύγχεινται : "tous les rythmes sont composés de pieds") confirmée par Sextus Empiricus (M 6, 44, p. 760 Bekker : ῥυθμὸς σύστημα ἐστὶν ἐκ ποδῶν : "un rythme est un assemblage de pieds"), on admet que le premier ait conçu les rythmes comme des systèmes d'organisation d'un niveau d'analyse supérieur aux pieds et qu'il leur ait ainsi consacré un chapitre séparé (aujourd'hui perdu avec la fin du livre II de ses 'Ρυθμικά στοιχεῖα), dont le second a tiré sa distinction entre ῥυθμοὶ ἀσύνθετοι, σύνθετοι et μικτοί, il est difficile de ne pas reconnaître dans la deuxième partie de l'exposé de la méthode des χωρίζοντες un résumé, remanié et sans doute simplifié à outrance, du classement des σύνθετοι ῥυθμοὶ établi par Aristoxène dans la partie perdue du livre II de ses 'Ρυθμικά στοιχεῖα.

## 7 Les χωρίζοντες classent les rythmes incomposés d'après des différences des rythmes conformes à la doctrine aristoxénienne des différences des pieds

La méthode de classement des rythmes incomposés (ἀσύνθετοι ῥυθμοί) qu'Aristide attribue aux χωρίζοντες (I, 18 : 38, 17-39, 2 W.-I.) repose quant à elle sur une théorie des différences des ῥυθμοὶ analogues à la doctrine des différences des πόδες qu'a exposée Aristoxène dans ses 'Ρυθμικά στοιχεῖα (§ 22-29)<sup>41</sup> : partant des ῥυθμοὶ de deux temps premiers (ἀπὸ δισήμου)—différence de *longueur*, μεγέθει (§ 23) —, ils poussaient leur classement jusqu'aux rythmes composés (μέχρι τῶν συνθέτων ῥυθμῶν)—différence de *composition*, συνθέσει (§ 26 : οἱ δ' ἀσύνθετοι τῶν συνθέτων διαφέρουσι τῷ μὴ διαιρείσθαι εἰς πόδας, τῶν συνθέτων διαιρουμένων : "les pieds incomposés diffèrent des composés en ce qu'ils ne se décomposent pas en pieds, alors que les composés le font") —, tout en tenant compte des rapports formés par leurs parties (κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους λόγους, ἴσον τε καὶ διπλάσιον ἡμιόλιόν τε καὶ ἐπίτριτον : "suivant les rapports susdits : l'égal, le double, l'hémiole et l'épitríte")—différence de *genre*, γένει (§ 24) —,

41 Le § 980 de Martianus Capella, dont le passage correspondant d'Aristide s'est perdu (voir Calvié 2013b, 9-22), conserve l'énoncé de trois de ces différences des rythmes (*per magnitudinem, per genus, per oppositionem*).

de l'ordre de ces dernières (τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θέσεως, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ἄρσεως : “les uns en partant du *poser*, les autres en partant du *lever*”)—différence d'*opposition*, ἀντιθέσει (§ 29)—et de leur grandeur relative (τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ μακρῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ βραχυῶν : “les uns en partant des *parties longues*, les autres en partant des *brèves*”)—différence de *figure*, σχήματι (§ 28)<sup>42</sup>. En outre, la différence de *division*, διαίρεσει (§ 27), joue un rôle essentiel dans l'analyse des rythmes composés (σύνθετοι ῥυθμοί) procurée par les χωρίζοντες (εἰ δὲ συνθέτους, καθὰ προεῖπον ποιησάμενος τὴν διαίρεσιν συνίστημι τὸν δεκάσημον). La cohérence conceptuelle des deux enseignements des différences des πόδες et des ῥυθμοί ne pouvant raisonnablement être tenue pour fortuite, il paraît de nouveau difficile de ne pas reconnaître dans la première partie de l'exposé de la méthode des χωρίζοντες un résumé, remanié et simplifié, du classement des ἀσύνθετοι ῥυθμοί établi par Aristoxène dans la suite du livre II de son traité de rythmique et de ne pas identifier les χωρίζοντες avec lui<sup>43</sup>. Ces deux listes de différences spécifiques auraient ainsi formé les équivalents rythmiques exacts de celles des différences des διαστήματα et des συστήματα qui sont conservées dans les Ἀρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα (A16-18 : 21, 19-23, 7 Da Rios) et offrent avec elles des analogies significatives : comme les πόδες et les ῥυθμοί, les διαστήματα et les συστήματα peuvent en effet différer en *longueur*, μεγέθει, en *composition*, συνθέσει (τὰ σύνθετα τῶν ἀσυνθέτων), ou en *genre*, γένει.

## 8 La nomenclature des συμπλέκοντες n'est pas aristoxénienne

Un dernier argument contre l'assimilation d'Aristoxène aux χωρίζοντες réside dans la terminologie employée par ces derniers, où ne figure aucun des noms traditionnels des pieds ou des rythmes (κρητικός, χορείος, τροχαῖος, etc.) dont usent en revanche les συμπλέκοντες : “The most obvious sense in which they separate rhythms from metres is that they do not analyse the former in terms of the familiarly named metrical feet, but only through number and ratios”<sup>44</sup>. Nombre de savants se sont en effet figuré que ces noms, ainsi que tous ceux que présentent à la fois les sections I, 15-17 (et II, 15) d'Aristide et le fragment rythmique du *POxy* 9+2687 à tort tenu pour aristoxénien (ἴαμβος, δάκτυλος

42 Pour cette interprétation de la différence σχήματι, voir Ruelle 1857, 550, Caesar 1861, 112-114, Caesar 1863, 885, Westphal 1865b, 49-50, Susemihl 1866, 16, Susemihl 1870, 506, Christ 1874, 48, Westphal 1883, 33, Kalkner 1892, 38-39, Westphal 1892, 440 et Succo 1906, 226.

43 Sur tout ce qui précède, voir Calvié 2007, 260-261 et Calvié 2016.

44 Barker 1989, 443.

κατὰ ἴαμβον, βακχείος, σημαντὸς τροχαῖος, ἀνάπαιστος)<sup>45</sup>, appartiendraient à la terminologie d'Aristoxène, parce que celui-ci mentionne lui-même le χορείος ἄλογος au § 21 de ses Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα, qu'on trouve le terme τροχαῖος dans le passage aristoxénien cité par Porphyre (*In Ptol. Harm.*, p. 79 Düring) et que Georgios Choroiboskos (III, 3, p. 219 Consbruch) et l'*Anonymum Ambrosianum* (II, 21, p. 229 Studemund) font état d'un certain κρητικός κατὰ Ἀριστόξενον<sup>46</sup>. C'est là une lourde erreur : τροχαῖος ne figure dans aucun manuscrit de Porphyre et n'est qu'une conjecture de J. Wallis<sup>47</sup>; quant au prétendu κρητικός κατὰ Ἀριστόξενον, un passage de Diomède (III, p. 481 Keil) donne la version latine du texte original que démarquent les deux métriciens grecs susnommés et qui présente l'expression *pes creticus κατὰ τροχαῖον* (κρητικός κατὰ τροχαῖον) opposée au δάκτυλος κατὰ ἴαμβον qui l'accompagne<sup>48</sup>. La mention du χορείος ἄλογος au § 21 des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα constitue donc, sinon un cas unique, du moins une exception : pour se faire bien comprendre de son lecteur (car il

45 En se fondant sur des indices papyrologiques, paléographiques, linguistiques, littéraires, lexicaux, doctrinaux et philosophiques, on a montré, lors d'une séance du séminaire du CPAF (Aix-Marseille Université, MMSH, 8 février 2011), que le fragment rythmique du POxy 9+2687 ne doit être attribué ni à Aristoxène ni même à son école, mais à un rythmicien syllabiste du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, tel que Phèdre ou Hippias : le texte de cette communication, dont le remaniement est en cours, sera adressé à la REG. En attendant, contre l'attribution de ce fragment à la tradition rythmique aristoxénienne, voir Gentili 1978, 18, Gentili 1979, 686, Comotti 1979, 47, Cristante 1987, 359, Gentili 1988, 15-16, Neumaier 1989, 50, Romano 1992, 27, Calvié 2007, 276, Marchetti 2009, 237 et Kaiser 2010, xxxiii.

46 Voir par exemple Blass 1898, XLVI, Grenfell 1898, 14, 19, Wilamowitz 1898, 698, Blass 1899a, 34, Blass 1899b, LII, Fraccaroli 1899, 100, Brandt 1902, 17, Laloy 1904a, 41, Laloy 1904b, 1, Succo 1906, 324-346, Schroeder 1907, 31, Schroeder 1908, 59, Gleditsch 1909, 324-346, Wilamowitz 1921, 67, Del Grande 1927, 2, Pöhlmann 1960, 37, Rea 1968, 23, Koster 1972, 47, Rossi 1988, 23-24, Mathiesen 1999, 344, Pearson 1990, XXI et Gibson 2005, 83.

47 Même corrigée à l'aide de la première des deux conjectures de Wallis ("[ὁ τραχέος] Sic omnes codices, sed mendum suspicor; nescio an legendum sit, τροχαῖος, an forte βραχέος"), adoptée par tous les éditeurs du texte (Westphal, Düring, Pearson), la phrase échappe à toute construction syntaxique. Il faut la corriger ainsi (voir Calvié 2007, 450-452) : Καθόλου δὲ νοητέον, ὅς ἂν ληφθῇ τῶν ῥυθμῶν, ὅμοιον, ὅσπερ ταχέως (εἰπεῖν ὁ τραχέος codd.) ἐπὶ τῇσδε τινος ἀγωγῆς τεθείς, ἀπείρων ἐκείνων πρώτων ἕνα τινὰ λήψεται εἰς αὐτόν (« De manière générale, il faut concevoir que, quel que soit celui des rythmes que l'on prenne, il est tel, qu'à peine établi dans un tempo donné, il admettra une seule de ces unités infinies »). B. Alexanderson (1969, 47) propose de corriger ὅμοιον en ὁόν, mais cela ne change rien à l'affaire.

48 Westphal 1867, 208 et Studemund 1886, 229.



n'avait pas d'autre moyen de le faire)<sup>49</sup>, Aristoxène aura emprunté ce terme à la nomenclature traditionnelle des rythmes, qui remonte au moins à Damon<sup>50</sup>, dont on trouve déjà des traces chez Aristophane (*Nub.* 651 : δάκτυλος), dans le *Poxy* 9+2687 (ἱαμβος, ἀνάπαιστος, ὀρθιος, χορείος, σπονδαίος, δόχμιος, παιών et βακχεῖος), chez Platon (*III*, 400a-c : δάκτυλος, τροχαῖος et ἱαμβος) ou Aristote (*Poet.* 49a 4 et 52b 23 et *Rhet.* *III*, 8, 1408b-1409a : ἀνάπαιστος, παιών, τροχαῖος et ἱαμβος) et qui est ensuite employée chez un rythmicien comme Bacchios (§ 100 : ἱαμβος, ἀνάπαιστος, ὀρθιος, παιών et βακχεῖος). Rien de tel dans le fragment conservé des *Ῥυθμικὰ στοιχεῖα* (§ 31-32), où il est au contraire question de pieds τρῖσημοι ἱαμβικοὶ τῷ γένει et τετράσημοι δακτυλικοὶ τῷ γένει (non de trochées, de iambes, de dactyles et d'anapeste), dans les extraits rythmiques de Psellos (§ 12), où il en va de même, dans les passages rythmiques des *Anonymes de Bellermann* (§ 97-101), où sont mentionnés des rythmes ἐξάσημος, ἐνδεκάσημος, δωδεκάσημος, τετράσημος et ὀκτάσημος, dans les sections évidemment aristoxénienne (1, 13-14) d'Aristide ou chez ses χωρίζοντες<sup>51</sup>. Dans les συμπλέκοντες, plutôt qu'Aristoxène et ses disciples supposés, il conviendrait ainsi de reconnaître ses prédécesseurs (οἱ περὶ Δάμωνα?), c'est-à-dire les rythmiciciens *syllabistes* dont Platon a décrit la méthode (*Crat.* 424c : οἱ ἐπιχειροῦντες τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς τῶν στοιχείων πρῶτον τὰς δυνάμεις διείλοντο, ἔπειτα τῶν συλλαβῶν, καὶ οὕτως ἤδη ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς σκεψόμενοι : "ceux qui s'occupent des rythmes commencent par examiner séparément les valeurs des sons élémentaires, puis celles des syllabes et finissent ainsi seulement par l'examen des rythmes" [trad. L. Méridier]) et dont Bacchios l'Ancien (§ 93) a conservé la définition du rythme d'une des plus anciennes autorités, celle d'un certain Phèdre : κατὰ δὲ Φαῖδρον, ῥυθμός ἐστι συλλαβῶν κειμένων πως πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἕμμετρος θέσις<sup>52</sup>. Une telle définition s'accorde parfaitement avec la doctrine *syllabiste* réfutée au § 1 de l'opuscule rythmique de Psellos : ὁ δὲ γε Ἀριστόξενος "οὐκ ἔστι, φησὶ, μέτρον ἢ συλλαβή". En Aristoxène, on doit donc voir un adversaire des συμπλέκοντες, c'est-à-dire un authentique χωρίζων.

49 Aristoxène procède de la même manière dans un assez long passage du *De musica* attribué à Plutarque (33, 1143 A-D, ed. Ziegler, p. 27, 17-p. 28, 28) qui lui est tacitement emprunté (voir par exemple Westphal 1866, 3-6 et 18, Westphal 1883, 483-484, Westphal 1893, CCXXVI et 106-107, Reinach & Weil 1900, XVIII, Helmbold & O'Neil 1959, p. 12 et Meriani 2003, 66-69) et où il est question du trochée, du péon (épibate) et de la rythmopée péonique.

50 Voir Wilamowitz 1921, 59-66.

51 Voir Gentili 1978, 18 et Gentili 1979, 686.

52 L'âge de ce rythmicien est garanti par la place occupée par sa définition du rythme parmi les sept énoncés analogues rapportés par Bacchios dans l'ordre chronologique (voir Tannery 1912, 68) : elle est en effet placée entre une définition platonicienne, identifiée dans Jan 1891, 562, et celle que le musicographe attribue lui-même à Aristoxène.

## 9 Les χωρίζοντες et les συμπλέκοντες ne forment pas des écoles rivales, mais des traditions rythmiques divergentes

Les rythmiciens *syllabistes*, qui sont tous συμπλέκοντες par définition, n'appartiennent cependant pas tous à une même école. R. Westphal a depuis longtemps souligné que les listes de rythmes d'Aristide (I, 15-17) et de Bacchios (§ 100), qu'il rattachait à une même source, ne présentaient ni la même étendue (la première compte quarante-quatre rythmes, la seconde dix) ni la même nomenclature (ἡγεμών et ἀπλοῦς προκελευσματικός, τροχαῖος et χορεῖος, ἰωνικός ἀπ' ἐλάσσονος et βακχεῖος, προσοδιακός et ἐνόπλιος) et a supposé que "haben im Originale ursprünglich mehrere Namen gestanden, von denen Aristides diesen, Bakchios jenen aufgenommen hat"<sup>53</sup>. Or les listes de rythmes qu'on peut tirer du *POxy* 9+2687, des ῥυθμικοί de Denys d'Halicarnasse ("les auteurs qui ont traité du rythme oratoire"<sup>54</sup>) ou d'Héphestion et des *rhythmici* des métriciens latins ne sont pas davantage superposables à l'une qu'à l'autre, ni les unes aux autres. Plutôt que les rattacher à une source commune qui aurait contenu la totalité des données dont les uns et les autres auraient retenu des éléments différents, ne convient-il pas de supposer que des rythmiciens συμπλέκοντες comme Thrasymaque de Chalcédoine, Damon d'Athènes, Hippias d'Élis, Phèdre ou leurs successeurs (Denys le Musicien ?) n'appartenaient pas à une même école, mais seulement à une même tradition, dont on pourra alors étudier les différentes branches (musicales, rhétoriques ou métriques) ? La même observation vaut pour les χωρίζοντες : il est en effet probable que les κανονικοί de Denys le Musicien et de Porphyre (*In Ptol. Harm.*, p. 37-38 Düring), qui étaient pythagoriciens, aient appartenu à cette tradition, tout comme Aristoxène de Tarente et le médecin Hérophile d'Alexandrie<sup>55</sup>, mais il est en même temps certain qu'ils appartenaient à des écoles différentes : le pythagorisme, l'école hérophiléenne... Rien ne permet toutefois de supposer l'existence d'une véritable école de rythmiciens aristoxéniens dans l'Antiquité<sup>56</sup>, à l'instar R. Westphal, qui reconnaissait cependant que "wer zunächst nach Aristoxenus die Rhythmik behandelt, davon haben wir keine Kunde"<sup>57</sup>. S'appuyant sur la distinction établie par Aristide, le philologue allemand avait substantivé les participes χωρίζοντες et συμπλέκοντες, considéré les substantifs ainsi formés

53 Westphal 1867, 94-95.

54 Egger 1902, 90.

55 Voir Calvié 2007, 290-295.

56 Quand E. Rocconi (2008, 283) parle d'une "scuola aristossenica", elle doit ainsi se référer non à une école réelle, mais à une tradition culturelle.

57 Westphal 1861, 12.

comme les noms donnés aux membres de deux écoles rivales de rythmiciens alexandrins, identifié les premiers (οἱ χωρίζοντες) à de putatifs disciples d'Aristoxène et attribué à l'un d'eux un abrégé de ses ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα<sup>58</sup>. Cette hypothèse ne résiste pas aux faits. Tandis que Galien (*Def. med.*, 220, ed. Kühn, t. XIX, p. 408, 18-p. 409, 7) nous a transmis une série de définitions hérophiléennes du rythme, qui sont par exemple dues à Bacchios l'Hérophiléen (ῥυθμός ἐστι κίνησις ἐν χρόνοις τάξιν ἔχουσα) ou encore à Zénon l'Hérophiléen (ῥυθμός ἐστι τάξις τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς διῆστανται αἱ ἀρτηρίαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν οἷς συστέλλονται) et qui témoignent de l'existence de l'école alexandrine de médecine fondée par Hérophile, Bacchios l'Ancien (§ 93) a établi une liste de définitions du rythme, dont seule est aristoxénienne celle d'Aristoxène lui-même : les trois dernières (probablement classées dans l'ordre chronologique) sont nommément attribuées à Nicomaque, Léophante (lire Diophante)<sup>59</sup> et Didyme, qui sont sans doute χωρίζοντες<sup>60</sup>, appartiennent tous à l'époque romaine et ne sont pas connus comme aristoxéniens, mais plutôt comme néopythagoriciens. Aucune des sources de notre connaissance de la rythmique d'Aristoxène n'appartient non plus à l'école aristoxénienne, puisque ce sont tous des grammairiens, des rhéteurs, des philosophes (presque tous platoniciens) ou des rythmiciens plus ou moins συμπλέκοντες (Bacchios et Aristide) qui ne remontent pas plus haut que l'époque romaine : Denys d'Halicarnasse, Quintilien, Plutarque, Aristide, Héphestion, Galien et Terentianus Maurus au Haut-empire; Sextus Empiricus, Porphyre, Longin, Bacchios l'Ancien, Censorinus, Marius Victorinus (Ælius Festus Aphonius), Fortunatianus, Diomède, Sergius, Syrianos, Martianus Capella, les scholiastes d'Hermogène et de Denys le Thrace au Bas-empire; les *Anonymes de Bellermand*, l'*Anonymum Ambrosianum*, Georges Choïroboscus, les *Excerpta Neapolitana*, Michel Psellos et Maxime Planude à l'âge byzantin. Tout se passe donc comme si, en rythmique, Aristoxène n'avait pas eu de disciples et comme si ses ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα n'avaient eu d'autres lecteurs, avant Denys d'Halicarnasse et Quintilien (Cicéron lui-même ne paraît pas

58 Westphal 1861, 12, Westphal 1865b, 13-18, Westphal 1867, 89-104 et Westphal 1885, 23. De là, cette prétendue bipartition de la rythmique alexandrine est passée dans des ouvrages encyclopédiques et des manuels : Susemihl 1892, 223-225, Gleditsch 1901, 68 et Seydel 1914, 776-780.

59 Voir Tannery 1912, 67-68.

60 Leurs définitions respectives du ῥυθμός (κατὰ δὲ Νικόμαχον χρόνων εὐτακτος κίνησις, κατὰ δὲ Διόφαντον χρόνων σύνθεσις κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τε καὶ συμμετρίαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς θεωρουμένων et κατὰ δὲ Δίδυμον φωνῆς ποιᾶς σχηματισμός) ne se réfèrent en effet pas explicitement à la notion de syllabe, même si Didyme y emploie le mot φωνῆς.

les connaître)<sup>61</sup>, que le médecin Hérophile... Peut-être, comme le suppose E. Rocconi<sup>62</sup>, cet ouvrage avait-il subi le même sort que les livres d'Aristote et de Théophraste, qui, au témoignage de Strabon (XIII, 54), auraient été légués à Nélée, enfouis sous terre, vendus à Apellicon, puis rapportés à Rome par Sylla, en 86 avant l'ère vulgaire<sup>63</sup>. En somme, ce serait par un *abus de langage* qu'Aristide attribuerait aux χωρίζοντες en général le classement des rythmes d'un χωρίζων particulier : Aristoxène.

...

Au terme de cette brève étude, la distinction établie par Aristide (I, 18) entre rythmiciens χωρίζοντες et συμπλέκοντες s'avère être extrêmement féconde : elle jette un rais de lumière sur la question des sources de sa rythmique (ses sections I, 15-17, consacrées au classement des rythmes des συμπλέκοντες, ne sont pas d'origine aristoxénienne), permet de compléter le fragment conservé des Ῥυθμικά στοιχεῖα d'Aristoxène (la trame de leur chapitre perdu περὶ ῥυθμῶν est conservée dans le dernier paragraphe de I, 14 et dans I, 17, où est présentée la méthode des χωρίζοντες) et procure surtout une ligne de démarcation nette entre les rythmiciens *syllabistes*, qui combinent rythmique musicale et métrique, et les rythmiciens *temporels*, qui offrent, comme Aristoxène et les *canoniciens*, une analyse quantitative des rythmes musicaux : ces deux traditions s'excluant l'une l'autre par leur nomenclature des rythmes procurent un critère permettant de classer presque mécaniquement les témoignages anciens sur la rythmique antique. Suivant ce critère, il devient impossible d'assimiler en bloc à Aristoxène et à ses disciples putatifs l'ensemble des *rythmiciens* cités par les grammairiens et les rhéteurs anciens, comme F. Blass proposait jadis de le faire<sup>64</sup>; de reconnaître par exemple en eux les ῥυθμικοί anonymes mentionnés par Denys d'Halicarnasse ou les *musici* allégués par Marius Victorinus (Ælius Festus Aponthius); et de leur attribuer le contenu du POxy 9+2687. Ces traditions ne forment cependant pas des ensembles homogènes : parmi les χωρίζοντες, les *canoniciens* ont une approche purement quantitative, tandis qu'Aristoxène recourt à l'αἵσθησις pour adapter ses calculs aux réalités

61 Sur les sources rythmiques de Cicéron, voir Calvié 2007, 284-285, où est réfutée la thèse de J. Porter (2001, 328) que l'orateur romain suivrait la théorie rythmique d'Aristoxène. Il est en revanche établi qu'il connaissait l'œuvre philosophique et harmonique du disciple d'Aristote (voir Coleman 1948, 11).

62 Rocconi 2009, 176.

63 Voir Barnes 1997, 2-17, Irigoin 2003, 144-145 et Canfora 2009, 39-43, 68-75, 201-211.

64 Voir Blass 1886, 451-453.

sensibles de la composition musicale à l'aide de déterminations qualitatives (restriction des genres et de la rationalité rythmique); et, parmi les *συμπλέκοντες*, il faut assurément distinguer philosophes, rhéteurs, musiciens et métriciens. Enfin, *χωρίζοντες* et *συμπλέκοντες* ne recouvrent pas l'intégralité du champ de la rythmique antique, car Aristote et Marius Victorinus témoignent de l'existence d'une troisième tradition, sans doute d'origine *orchestique*. Le premier (*Metaph.* XIV, 1, 1087b34-37) mentionne en effet un substrat rythmique nommé *βάσις* comme une alternative à la *συλλαβή* et le second (*Ars* I, 12, p. 51 Keil) fait état d'une rythmique *podique* antérieure à la rythmique *syllabique* (celle des *συμπλέκοντες*) et à la rythmique *temporelle* (celle des *χωρίζοντες*) :

*Quidam autem non pedem metrum esse volunt, sed syllabam, quod hac ipsum quoque pedem metiamur, et quod finita mensura esse debeat, pedes autem in versu variantur. alii rursus nec pedem nec syllabam metrum putant esse dicendum, sed tempus* ("Or certains ne veulent pas du pied comme mesure, mais de la syllabe, parce que c'est à l'aide de celle-ci que nous mesurons également le pied lui-même et parce que la mesure doit être fixe—or les pieds changent dans le vers. D'autres pensent qu'il ne faut admettre pour mesure ni le pied ni la syllabe, mais le temps")<sup>65</sup>.

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65 Voir Westphal 1861, 91, Brambach 1869, XII, Brambach 1871, 3, Susemihl 1892, 218 et Seydel 1914, 771. Sur la signification de *βάσις*, voir Palmieri 1986, qui montre que ce terme désigne l'unité rythmique de base dans les trois arts de la danse (d'où il tire son origine), de la musique et de la poésie.

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# Correcting *ēthos* and Purifying the Body. Musical Therapy in Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica*

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## Abstract

The tradition relating to the Pythagoreans and music therapy is most widely attested in two Neoplatonic works, Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, and Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*. Although the chronological distance from the early Pythagoreans makes their accounts controversial, they offer interesting evidence on the beneficial effects of music. Iamblichus, whose work will be focused on in this paper, describes the effects of music on health through the notion of catharsis, which he often links with musical *ēthos*. The latter is not in fact attested before Plato, but Iamblichus, presenting Pythagoras in Platonic terms, emphasizes the importance he gives to the improvement of the individual's character and life by means of music, which is used as a proper *pharmakon*. In such respect, Iamblichus' work shows some similarities with Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica*, especially in connection with the "mixture" of melodies as if they were medicines.

## Keywords

Catharsis – *Ēthos* – Iamblichus – Porphyry – Pythagoras – *Paideia* – *Aisthēsis* – medicine

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\* Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica* is quoted from Deubner and Klein (1975); Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae* from Des Places (2003); Aristoxenus' *Elementa Harmonica* from Da Rios (1954); Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica* from Winnington-Ingram (1963); Ptolemy's *Harmonica* from Düring (1930). Translations from Aristoxenus, Aristides Quintilianus and Ptolemy have been taken from Barker (1989); other translations are mine.

The therapeutic function of music in ancient Greece sometimes appears connected, particularly in some testimonies by Plato and Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> to the notion of catharsis,<sup>2</sup> understood in a medical-magic and ritual-religious sense. Catharsis designates a specific sphere of the notion of therapy, whose origins go back to a context of religious rites and traditional purification practices found at all levels in Greek society from the most ancient times; in the case of musical therapy, catharsis proves to be connected in particular with the effects of the Dionysiac rites on the participants, who also resorted to them for treatment of passions and psycho-physical agitation.<sup>3</sup> The notion of catharsis, however, does not only designate the effects of music in such spheres, but is used, in general, to interpret the therapeutics of passions among the Pythagoreans: in this connection, the Pythagoreans are indicated in sources that concern them as creators and promoters of musical catharsis.<sup>4</sup>

### *Pythagoras in Iamblichus' De vita pythagorica and Porphyry's Vita Pythagorae*

Most of the testimonies relating to early Pythagoreanism belong to times very distant from it: a great deal was said about Pythagoras and his followers, but the descriptions relating to their way of living and their ideas become all the more detailed, as well as numerous, as they become more distant from it.<sup>5</sup> The work in which we most clearly find the association between the Pythagoreans and musical catharsis is *On the Pythagorean Way of Life (De vita*

1 Cf. for instance Pl. *Lg.* 790c5-791b2, on catharsis by means of music and dance within the Corymbant rites; Arist. *Pol.* 1341b36-1342a15, on the threefold distinction of melodies (μέλη) as ἠθικά ('ethical', useful for improving *ēthos*), πρακτικά ('practical', useful for stimulating action) and ἐνθουσιαστικά ('enthusiastic', melodies that arouse emotions and allow the participants in the rites to purge their souls by means of music and dance).

2 On the manifold aspects of *katharsis* in ancient Greece: Parker (1983); Hoessly (2001).

3 On music and *enthousiasmos* in the Dionysiac rites, I limit my reference to Dodds (1968, 78-80; 270-82); Bélis (1988). The effects of the *aulos* and the ecstatic *trance* have been thoroughly studied by Rouget (1985).

4 Cf. Aristox. fr. 26 Wehrli (quoted in n. 7). For an overview of the issue: Provenza (2012, 93-5).

5 Philip (1966, 3-7).

*pythagorica*) by Iamblichus of Chalcis (c. 245-325 AD),<sup>6</sup> whose main source on this matter is Aristoxenus of Tarentum.<sup>7</sup>

Not all ancient authors, however, designate musical therapy for passions as catharsis; this is particularly evident in the *Life of Pythagoras* (*Vita Pythagorae*) by Porphyry of Tyre<sup>8</sup> and also, as regards musical treatises, in Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica*.<sup>9</sup>

Although both Porphyry and Iamblichus aim to present Pythagoras as an example of the *bios philosophikos* and his doctrines as an authoritative precedent of Plato's thought, the differences between their works appear significant, and seem to delineate a different cultural intent. Iamblichus must have known Porphyry's work on Pythagoras—he had also been a student of the former,<sup>10</sup> before a harsh controversy broke out between them<sup>11</sup>—but does not seem to depend on it and, indeed, distances himself from it considerably. Even in the respective titles different intents emerge: Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* is presented as a work-manifesto centring on the *Lebensform* of Pythagoras and his disciples, proposed as a model for the attainment of that understanding of the divine at which the speculative striving of the Neoplatonic philosopher aims;<sup>12</sup> in the case of Porphyry, writing some decades before Iamblichus, we are, instead, dealing with a piece of writing that more clearly presents the characteristics of a biography. In this way Porphyry, although he too considers Pythagoras as a perfect example of the *bios* by which contemporary philosophers must be inspired, mostly concentrates on the philosopher,

6 Iamblichus' work on the doctrines of the Pythagoreans included ten books, five of which have come down to us: O'Meara (1989, 30-105); Staab (2002), especially on Iamblichus' sources.

7 Aristox. fr. 26 Wehrli = Cramer, *Anecd. Paris.* 1. 172, 'the Pythagoreans, as Aristoxenus said, used medicine for the purification of the body, and music for that of the soul' (οἱ Πυθαγορικοί, ὡς ἔφη Ἀριστόξενος, καθάρσει ἐχρῶντο τοῦ μὲν σώματος διὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς); Provenza (2012).

8 This work appears as a portion of the first book of a long treatise concerning the history of philosophy down to Plato. The title attested for this treatise—preserved only in some short sections—is Φιλόσοφος Ἱστορία. On Porphyry's sources: Staab (2002, 109-34).

9 The evidence supports a dating of the treatise between the end of the 3rd and the beginnings of the 4th c. AD: Mathiesen (1983, introduction, especially 10-4); Mathiesen (1999, 521-4). According to Luisa Zanoncelli (1977, 86-93), Aristides Quintilianus was active around the middle of the 4th c. AD, in the same cultural environment as Iamblichus. Among studies, I refer to Zanoncelli (1977); Mathiesen (1983, 10-57); Mathiesen (1999, 521-82); Barker (2007, 45-52, on Aristides' *harmoniai*); Moretti (2010, 93-101).

10 Cf. Eun. vs 5. 1. 2.

11 For the sources and bibliographical references on this matter: O'Meara (1989, 25).

12 von Albrecht (2002, 259).



rather than on his way of living. Moreover, in Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, which appears a markedly propagandist work, Pythagoras emerges with the traits of a wise thaumaturge, a sort of "pagan saint"<sup>13</sup> proposed as an antidote to the spread of Christianity,<sup>14</sup> while Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* shows marked sobriety,<sup>15</sup> which is also evident in his lack of interest in the anecdotes given by Iamblichus: for instance, the stories relating to the auletic musical therapy practised by Pythagoras on a drunken youth (Iamb. *VP* 112) and to Empedocles using the soothing power of music on a guest of his (*VP* 113) are absent in Porphyry.

Another fundamental difference lies in the fact that Porphyry never uses *katharsis* in reference to the effects of music on those who listen to it,<sup>16</sup> and instead attributes its healing function to the power of the rhythms and the melodies, as well as to spells (*epodai*),<sup>17</sup> or he expressly speaks of music as *θεράπεια* ('care') and *παραμυθία* ('comfort'), referring the first action to the body and the second to the soul.<sup>18</sup> Therefore Porphyry, though mentioning Pythagoras' use of healing songs (*VP* 33, μέλη [...] παίωνια), unlike Iamblichus does not refer to them using the notion of musical catharsis; for Iamblichus, by contrast, catharsis is the essential basis of music's effectiveness both in medicine and in *paideia*. Indeed, Iamblichus, considering the beneficial effects of music under the common denominator of catharsis,<sup>19</sup> affirms that the Pythagoreans used music for ailments of the body but, above all, for psychic ailments and mental states of upheaval and restlessness, on which it seemed to act as a purifying

13 According to the definition in Fowden (1982).

14 Burkert (1982, 13). On the soteriological and thaumaturgic aspects of Pythagoras in Iamblichus *De vita Pythagorica*: Du Toit (2002); Dillon (2002).

15 O'Meara (1989, 27) highlights that Porphyry ascribes a universal value to Platonism, finding it "both in Pythagoras and in very many other quarters".

16 The word *κάθαρσις* appears in different contexts in Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* (cf. 29; 34; 39; 46), but it never refers to the effects of music.

17 Porph. *VP* 30, '(Pythagoras) enchanted the sufferings of the soul and that of the body by means of rhythms, melodies and spells' (κατεκλήλει δὲ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέλεσι καὶ ἐπωδαῖς τὰ ψυχικὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ).

18 Porph. *VP* 33, 'and he always spent time with his disciples when they were healthy, and on the other hand he treated the diseases of their bodies, and soothed their suffering souls, as we have told, in one case by means of spells and magical remedies, and in the other by means of music' (καὶ ὑγιαίνουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ συνδιέτριβεν, κάμνοντας δὲ τὰ σώματα ἐθεράπευεν, καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δὲ νοσοῦντας παρεμυθεῖτο, καθάπερ ἔφαμεν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπωδαῖς καὶ μαγείαις τοὺς δὲ μουσικῇ).

19 Iamb. *VP* 110, '(Pythagoras) was accustomed to use—and not occasionally—this type of catharsis; this indeed was the name he gave to musical healing' (εἰώθει γὰρ οὐ παρέργως τῇ τοιαύτῃ χρῆσθαι καθάρσει· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσηγόρευε τὴν διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς ἰατρείαν).

agent, causing a liberating release of such passions.<sup>20</sup> Iamblichus also states that Pythagoras used music for ‘correction’ of the soul (ἐπανόρθωσις τῆς ψυχῆς),<sup>21</sup> like a true φάρμακον.

It does not appear to be by chance that Porphyry, the author of the *Commentary on Ptolemy’s Harmonica*,<sup>22</sup> neglects analysis of the emotional reception of music and the philosophical-religious concepts that could motivate it. In Ptolemy’s opinion, the beauty and order of the musical structures are also detectable in other realities, such as the movement of the stars and the human soul.<sup>23</sup> The latter seems to ‘recognize’ that its own structure is based on the same mathematical ratios on which melodies are based, and is sensible to the movements featuring the different melodies.<sup>24</sup> Human souls are led by music ‘sometimes into pleasures and relaxations, sometimes into griefs and contractions; they are sometimes stupefied and lulled to sleep, sometimes invigorated and aroused; and they are sometimes turned towards peacefulness and restraint, sometimes towards frenzy and ecstasy (ποτέ δὲ εἰς οἶστρον καὶ ἐνθουσιασμόν), as the melody itself modulates in different ways at different times, and draws our souls towards the conditions constituted from the likenesses of the ratios (ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τοῦ μέλους αὐτοῦ τε μεταβάλλοντος καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξάγοντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν λόγων συνισταμένας

20 Cf. for instance Iamb. *VP*. 68; 110.

21 See further below.

22 In this very important work, Porphyry mainly focuses on the introduction of Ptolemy’s treatise, concerning the fundamental principles and methods of science, and seems instead less interested in the technical aspects of Ptolemy’s harmonic analyses: Barker (1989, 229). On Ptolemy’s *Harmonics*, I refer the reader to Barker (1994); Barker (2000(b)); Barker (1989, 270-75, introduction to the translation of the treatise [276-391]; a further english translation is by J. Solomon [2000]). Ptolemy hands down Archytas’ theories on acoustics, considering him as the most skilled Pythagorean musicologist (Ptol. *Harm.* 1. 13-4, pp. 30.9-31.18 = Archyt. Test. A16 Huffman [2005, 402-28, with a very useful comment]; Barker [1989, 43-5]). In his approach to issues central to the understanding of music he is close to the Pythagoreans in important respects: Barker (1991); Barker (2000(b), especially 14-32); Meriani (2003(a), 100-3).

23 The relationship between music and the soul is dealt with in Ptol. *Harm.* 3. 4-7 (pp. 95, 28-100, 18).

24 Ptol. *Harm.* 3. 7, pp. 99, 25-100, 1, ‘indeed, our souls are quite plainly affected in sympathy (συμπάσχουσιν) with the actual activities of a melody, recognising the kinship, as it were, of the ratios belonging to its particular kind of constitution (τὴν συγγένειαν ὥστερ ἐπιγινώσκουσαι τῶν τῆς ἰδίας συστάσεως λόγων), and being moulded by the movements specific to the idiosyncracies of the melodies (τυπούμεναι τισι κινήμασιν οἰκείοις ταῖς τῶν μελῶν ἰδιότησιν)’.

διαθέσεις).<sup>25</sup> Thus catharsis—not mentioned by Ptolemy, even if it might be lurking behind *enthousiasmos*—could be just one of the manifold aspects of the reactions aroused by music thanks to its strong similarities with the human soul. Porphyry might have kept in mind this aspect, linked with the notion of *enthousiasmos*; but he could also have considered the cathartic power of mathematical knowledge (τὰ μαθήματα) on the individuals' way of life, which is stressed, for instance, in *de abst.* 1.29.<sup>26</sup> As it is a *mathēma*, music is cathartic in an epistemological sense, because of its mathematical structure.

The lack of reference to musical catharsis in Porphyry could also be connected with his direct knowledge of Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica*, which however is not proven.<sup>27</sup>

Even if we admit that neither Porphyry nor Iamblichus had ever read the work of Aristides Quintilianus, we cannot ignore their participation in ideas similar to his, which were available in the same Neoplatonic milieu as their

25 *Harm.* 3. 7, p. 100, 3-7. Ptolemy also records that the Pythagoreans usually performed melodies as they woke up in order to 'make their souls well-attuned and concordant for the actions of the day'. The same reference can be found also in Porphyry's *Vita Pythagorae* (32)—at dawn Pythagoras sang the ancient paeans composed by Thaletas—and in Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica* (65; 114; see further below).

26 On catharsis by means of knowledge in Porphyry cf. Staab (2002, 110-1; 130-4).

27 There is no reason to cast doubt on Aristides Quintilianus' proximity to Neoplatonism, which lurks behind several passages in his treatise (cf. for instance *De Mus.* 2. 2, p. 54, 1-26; 2. 8, p. 66, 6-10). Aristides Quintilianus mentions musical catharsis at *De Mus.* 1.1, p. 2, 4-5 and 2. 5, p. 58, 6-32. In both passages he seems to make an allusion to musical *paideia* in Plato's *Republic* (cf. for instance 401d-402a as far as the former passage is concerned; 398d-399c for the latter, which also seems to use Arist. *Pol.* 1341b-1342b as a source). He also refers to *enthousiasmos* in *De mus.* 2. 4 (pp. 57, 31-58, 2: human beings turn to melody-making because of pleasure, pain or *enthousiasmos*) and 3. 25 (pp. 128, 28-129, 15), where he states that *enthousiasmos* is the first and most natural cause of melody, and originates in the rational part of the soul. Once on Earth, the soul is affected by ignorance and forgetfulness, filled with confusion and excitement, and is soothed by melody. Individuals appease it either 'through imitations of their own', or 'through the use of their eyes and ears'. Thus the Dionysiac rites appease the agitation of the most ignorant individuals, who must seek for someone performing music in order to listen to it. Aristides Quintilianus seems to link *enthousiasmos* and the necessity of catharsis to the descent of the soul from Heaven, which contaminates it with passions. Catharsis seems to consist in the soul's acknowledgement of its contamination in its descent from the aerial regions, and in its attempts to get rid of it by means of music (the affinities between the heavenly world, music and the soul are emphasized, for instance, in *De mus.* 3. 9, p. 107, 20-24). These notions appear very similar to considerations expressed by Porphyry in *Sent.* 32 (cf. especially 101-3, πρῶτον μὲν οἷον θεμέλιος καὶ ὑποβάθρα τῆς καθάρσεως τὸ γνῶναι ἑαυτὸν ψυχὴν ὄντα ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ πράγματι καὶ ἑτεροουσίῳ συνδεδεμένον).

investigations of philosophy and music. Porphyry in particular, with his deep musical knowledge, could approach more closely than Iamblichus the conceptions that seem to animate the reflections of Aristides Quintilianus, if not his work itself and the original psycho-musicological conception that is worked out in it. When Aristides Quintilianus makes reference to a soul between Heaven and Earth, reaching out towards the former but necessarily relegated to the latter because of its 'contamination' by desires, which drive it to go in search of a body in which to become incarnate,<sup>28</sup> in actual fact he harks back to Platonic concepts taken up by the Neoplatonic philosophers, above all Plotinus.<sup>29</sup> Then, in reference to the terrestrial aspect, he seems to refer to the educability of the soul, which sets up a very specific ethical paradigm. Such concepts cannot have been extraneous to Porphyry and Iamblichus, and could have driven their interest in Pythagorean ethics.

Regarding the musical aspects, Nicomachus of Gerasa is a common source for both of them:<sup>30</sup> his *Introduction to Arithmetic*<sup>31</sup> is an object of deep admiration in Book IV of Iamblichus' work on Pythagoreanism, devoted precisely to an exposition with commentary of the mathematical doctrines of the Neopythagorean philosopher.<sup>32</sup> Nicomachus was also the author of a *Life of Pythagoras* which has not come down to us; its influence can clearly be seen

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28 Aristid. Quint. *De Mus.* 2. 8, p. 66, 6-10.

29 Plot. *Enn.* 4. 8. 4; 8. 8, dealing with the separation of soul from the whole, its 'descent' into the body and its 'imprisonment' within it (for reflections on the soul between the Heaven and Earth: 4. 8. 4, 31-3; 8. 8, 16-23). On the relationship between Aristides Quintilianus, Porphyry and Plotinus, cf. Mathiesen 1983, 11-13.

30 For questions concerning Porphyry's and Iamblichus' sources, and for a general survey on the relationship between their works on Pythagoras: Burkert (1972, 97-109); von Albrecht (2002); Staab (2002, 12-8; 109-34; 217-37); Hägg (2012, 352-67).

31 For what concerns Nicomachus of Gerasa (2nd c. AD; his works can be dated in the first half of the century): Dillon (1977, 352-61); O'Meara (1989, 14-23); Staab (2002, 81-91, reporting ancient evidence on Pythagoras in Nicomachus' works). Nicomachus is inclined to identify Pythagoreanism and Platonism, going "so far as to mathematize Platonic philosophy entirely" (O'Meara 1989, 22). He was the author of a *Handbook on Harmonics* (*Enchiridion*: Barker [1989, 245-7; English translation on 247-69]; Levin [1975]; Barker [2007, 445-7]), based on both the Pythagorean musical theories and some Aristoxenian principles.

32 The relationships between music, arithmetics, geometry and astronomy in Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic* are to be found in Boethius (especially *Inst. arithm.* 1. 1, p. 9, 28-9 Friedlein; *Inst. mus.* 1. 1).

in the *Life* by Porphyry, who—unlike Iamblichus—indicates every time how much he takes from it.<sup>33</sup>

The principal source on the Pythagoreans and music is however, for both the Neoplatonic philosophers, Aristoxenus of Tarentum,<sup>34</sup> with respect to whom Nicomachus represents an intermediary. Aristoxenus, who appears to be the initiator of the biographical tradition on Pythagoras,<sup>35</sup> also seems to be the source of the stories relating to Pythagoras' use of musical therapy, in which one notes an attention to *ēthos* that is very close not only to what we read in fr. 26 Wehrli,<sup>36</sup> but also to the notions that emerge from the fragments of Aristoxenus' *Pythagorean Precepts*.<sup>37</sup>

Porphyry and Iamblichus share an interest in representing care over *ēthos*, to which *paideia* is connected,<sup>38</sup> as the principal objective pursued in Pythagorean communities. In this connection, this paper will focus on the dynamics of the musical 'correction of soul' (ἐπανόρθωσις τῆς ψυχῆς) in Iamblichus' *De vita Pythagorica*.

### Paideia and Musical Therapy in Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica*

In Iamblichus' representation of Pythagoreanism, everything that is considered as ethically acceptable appears to be absolutely oriented towards *paideia*; this peculiar aspect shapes the delineation of the character of Pythagoras and

33 Dillon (1977, 353). As Philip (1966, 19) remarks, Pythagoras appears in Neopythagoreanism as a wise man "half mystic, half mathematician".

34 In his youth, before becoming a disciple of Aristotle, Aristoxenus studied in Athens under the guidance of the Pythagorean Xenophilus (Aristox. fr. 1 Wehrli = *Suda*, s.v. Ἀριστόξενος). He also became acquainted with the last Pythagoreans (Aristox. fr. 19 Wehrli = D.L. 8. 46). Aristoxenus wrote several works on Pythagoreanism (a *Life of Pythagoras* [Πυθαγόρου βίος], also known in some sources as *On Pythagoras and His Followers* [Περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ]; a work *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* [Περὶ τοῦ Πυθαγορικοῦ βίου]; the *Pythagorean Precepts* [Πυθαγορικά ἀποφάσεις]. The surviving fragments are collected as Aristox. fr. 11-41 Wehrli).

35 Cf. on this Zhmud 2012.

36 Above, n. 7.

37 Provenza (2012, 110-3).

38 The presentation of the Pythagorean *paideia* is much more detailed in Iamblichus' work than in Porphyry's one. Lurje (2002, 229) distinguishes three stages in the Pythagorean *paideia*: perception (αἴσθησις)—linked with listening to melodies suitable for education—activities (ἐπιτηδεύματα) and doctrines (μαθήματα: Iamb. *vp* 68). Such stages seem to recall the three stages towards the contemplation of ideal Beauty in Plato's *Symposium* (210a-c), replacing ὄψις with ἀκοή.

the Pythagorean *bios*. A distinctive element linked to it are the *akousmata*, the rules on which the association is founded, an expression of the purposes of the teaching of Pythagoras. In the account by Iamblichus, they are divided into three groups, and are conceived as answers to the questions: ‘What is it?’, ‘What more than everything?’ and ‘What is it necessary to do or not do?’. Among the *akousmata* of the second type, three appear particularly important for our research: ‘Which is the wisest thing? Medicine’ (τί σοφώτατον τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν; ἰατρική); ‘Which is the most beautiful? Harmony’ (τί κάλλιστον; ἁρμονία); ‘Which is the best? Happiness’ (τί ἄριστον; εὐδαιμονία).<sup>39</sup>

There is a close connection between health, harmony and happiness: musical compositions, on the basis of harmony and rhythm, are considered able to re-establish harmony when the physical and psychic equilibrium has been upset by illness. The fundamental purpose of the Pythagorean doctrine is therefore striving for harmony, a condition that the individual must pursue by seeking that equilibrium that is translated into health,<sup>40</sup> over which medicine (ἰατρική) in turn presides. For Pythagoras the process of *paideia* itself becomes a therapy of *ēthos*, to which music makes a decisive contribution.

### The Use of Music before Night-Time Rest and on Awakening

Iamblichus represents musical catharsis among the Pythagoreans as a liberation from disturbances and from a pathological state of depression and dejection through music, used as a true medical remedy. This catharsis took on different modalities at the various moments in the day at which it was effected, as a preparation for facing the day well, or dissolving tensions in view of night-time rest.<sup>41</sup> Specifically, catharsis against disturbances and the noises of the day (τῶν ἡμερινῶν ταραχῶν καὶ ἐνηχημάτων) before night-time rest produced divinatory dreams (μαντικούς τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτοῖς ἀπειργάζετο),<sup>42</sup> while,

39 Iamb. *VP* 82.

40 This notion is well expressed in the famous fragment of Alcmaeon of Croton on *ισονομία* (DK 24 B 4 = Aët. 5. 30. 1). Among the many sources on soul as *harmonia*, and on the balance within the body as essential for health: Aristox. *fr.* 118-21 Wehrli; Dicaearch. 21A Mirhady = *fr.* 11 Wehrli.

41 Iamb. *VP* 65.

42 Plato (*Ti.* 71d1-e6) ascribes divination to the irrational soul, set in the liver. Divination takes place while sleeping (71d3-4), when λόγος and φρόνησις—which belong to the rational soul—withdraw. This faculty is the gift of the Divinity to human beings so that they can ‘improve also the weak part of it [...], somehow letting it come close to Truth’ (71d7-e1). The faculty of divination belongs to the irrational soul, for divination takes place ‘either

on awakening, Pythagoras freed his disciples from numbness and tiredness ‘through special kinds of songs and melodies performed by simply playing on the strings of an instrument, using the lyre, or by also using the voice’, (διὰ τινων ἰδιοτρόπων ἁσμάτων καὶ μελισμάτων, ψιλῇ τῇ κρούσει<sup>43</sup> διὰ λύρας, ἢ καὶ φωνῆς συντελουμένων).

The beneficial effects of music before the night-time rest and on awakening are also mentioned, as a form of catharsis, in *VP* 114 in which explicit reference is made to musical catharsis (ἐξεκάθαιρον τὰς διανοίας ὡδαῖς τισι καὶ μελῶν ἰδιώμασι) before and after night-time rest, also obtained through melodies devoid of vocal accompaniment (ἄνευ λέξεως μελισμάτων): the sense is the same as in *VP* 65, since the expression ψιλῇ τῇ κρούσει used in that passage corresponds to ἄνευ λέξεως. Besides, the repetitions appear functional to the propaganda aspect of Iamblichus’ work.

The Pythagorean custom of playing melodies with the lyre before and after sleep had already been mentioned, before Iamblichus, by Dio of Prusa (*Or.* 32. 57), who refers to this custom as an example of the fact that music ‘was invented’ (εὐρησθαι) to cure the passions and to calm restless minds, and also by Plutarch, who in *De Iside et Osiride* (80. 384a), speaks of the exhalations of a mixture, called κύφι, able to purify the imaginative faculty proper to dreams, like the sounds of the lyre which the Pythagoreans used before sleep, ‘to enchant, and so to take care of, the emotional and irrational part of the soul’ (τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξεπάδοντες οὕτω καὶ θεραπεύοντες).

It seems, therefore, that the use of music before and after night-time rest represented a widespread motif in the anecdotal tradition on the Pythagoreans,

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when the mind is constrained by sleep or when it is altered, because of some illness or inspired ecstasy’ (71e4-6, ἢ καθ’ ὕπνον τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως πεδηθεὶς δύναμιν ἢ διὰ νόσον, ἢ διὰ τινα ἐνθουσιασμόν παραλλάξας). Melodies performed in order to arouse divination dreams in Iamb. *VP* 65 seem then to hint at the contemplation of the heavenly world, since they are imitations (*mimēsis*) of the cosmic harmony (see further below, 104-6).

- 43 Deubner’s edition accepts the manuscripts’ reading κράσει. This scholar (1935, 669 = 1982, 530) explains κράσει on the basis of *VP* 64, in which κέρασματά τινων μελῶν διατονικῶν τε καὶ χρωματικῶν καὶ ἐναρμονίων are mentioned. Yet we cannot state that the theory concerning the three γένη—diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic—had been formulated before Archytas. In my opinion, the mention of the lyre justifies the emendation of κράσει to κρούσει, since κρούσις is a technical word for musical performance with stringed instruments. Moreover κράσει (κράσις, ‘mixing’, ‘blending’) seems to be in conflict with ψιλῇ (ψιλός, ‘bare’, ‘simple’). If we accept this conjecture, the punctuation has to be adjusted by erasing the comma after κρούσει and adding one after λύρας. The text was emended with κρούσει already by L. Kuster in his Amsterdam edition published in 1707, and by Th. Kiessling (Leipzig 1815): Nauck (1884, 45, apparatus).



but it is Iamblichus that includes this aspect under the umbrella of catharsis. Apart from catharsis, Iamblichus *VP* 64-65 and 114 show the same effects of music on human attitudes and behaviours as those mentioned by Dio and Plutarch. In Dio's discourse *To the People of Alexandria*, the soothing and curative power of music is considered in the framework of a 'transformation' (μεταστρέφειν)—and not a 'purification'—, but this notion can be found also in Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica*, since Pythagoras "changed into their opposites" the excessive passions of his disciples.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Plutarch refers to the *epode* as a process that allows music to act on the irrational part of the soul (τὸ ἄλογον), and Iamblichus too refers to the *epode* in *VP* 114. The most interesting aspect concerning the effectiveness of the morning and evening musical rite in Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica*, even more so than catharsis, is the author's focus on the manifold aspects of musical therapy. The process of healing by means of music is represented by Iamblichus according to different patterns, but each of them seems to be linked with the others.

### Pythagoras and the Heavenly Music

Immediately after the first passage in which catharsis before and after sleep is discussed, Iamblichus introduces a eulogistic description of the superiority of Pythagoras not only over his disciples, but over all humankind, in terms that stress his exceptional status:<sup>45</sup> indeed, Iamblichus affirms that Pythagoras, being the only person able directly to perceive the harmony of the cosmos and to understand it, purified himself by himself, listening to it without the intervention of anyone, and drawing enormous benefit from it, since, produced by the orderly movements of the stars, it gives rise to music that is 'purer and fuller than human music' (*VP* 65, πληρέστερόν τι τῶν θνητῶν καὶ κατακορέστερον μέλος).<sup>46</sup> It is stressed that Pythagoras was fully aware of his own uniqueness, so much so that he explained (ἐνέφαινε) to those around him that he was the only one (μόνος) able to hear and understand the harmony of the spheres: on this basis, Pythagoras is presented, in Platonic terms, as ἡγεμῶν

44 Cf. Iamb. *VP* 64, εἰς τὰ ἐναντία περιέτρεπε καὶ περιῆγε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη; 114, εἰς τὰ ἐναντία πάθη περιάγον χρησίμως τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις.

45 Iamb. *VP* 65-66.

46 The source is probably Nicom. *Harm.* 3, p. 242, 15-7 Jan (already I. Lévy [1927, 42] highlights that Nicomachus is most probably the source for Iamb. *VP* 64-66, and also for Porphy. *VP* 30. Nicomachus in his turn depends on Aristoxenus).

παιδείας<sup>47</sup> and as an absolute reference point for those that live in his community. This concept is re-emphasised shortly afterwards, when it is affirmed that Pythagoras was convinced (ἐνόμιζε) that he was the only one able not only to perceive and understand the celestial realities, but also to assimilate himself to them through impulse and imitation (ἐξομοιοῦσθαι κατ' ἔφεσιν καὶ ἀπομίμησιν τοῖς οὐρανίοις), since his physical constitution was made by the divinity for this purpose (VP 66). Hence he deemed that he represented the best of model for other men, who, through his teachings, could draw close to the celestial realities, a source of harmony for all aspects of life.<sup>48</sup>

The melodies used by Pythagoras therefore constituted imitative reproductions, through musical instruments and song, of the celestial harmonies, of the cosmic music that only he, as a wise man, was able to hear, purifying himself without resorting to the intervention of another musician, since he enjoyed this exclusive privilege, which made it possible to set going a process of 'self-therapy.' Striking, in this connection, is the repeated use of εἰκῶν ('model'): indeed, it recurs in connection with the participle ἐκμιμούμενος, which clearly refers to the sphere of imitation, speaking of the 'human' music to be enacted through musical instruments or even the voice alone (VP 66, διὰ τε ὀργάνων καὶ διὰ ψιλῆς τῆς ἀρτηρίας), in order to instruct his disciples and to instil in them a striving towards harmony. Shortly afterwards it returns as a synonym for ὑπόδειγμα ('example'), to indicate the paradigm offered by Pythagoras to other men to improve themselves (ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι): the concept of *mimēsis*, once more, is strongly stressed as striving after the supreme good, harmony. *Mimēsis* itself therefore seems to have two different aspects, according to whether the reference is to Pythagoras or to other men: in the case of the former, it serves to ἐκμανθάνειν καὶ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι, that is to say to learn through and through, down to complete assimilation with the celestial realities, while in other men, *mimēsis* seems to configure striving for harmony. In virtue of imitation, therefore, human music is a reflection of heavenly music: the presence of Plato's thought and, in this case particularly, of his striving towards the superhuman world of perfect realities, seems to constitute the background against which the figure of Pythagoras is defined.<sup>49</sup>

47 R. 600a9-b5.

48 Cf. also Iamb. VP 88, saying that even though the *akousmatikoi* (VP 30; 81; 82) learned Pythagoras' doctrines without really understanding them, they benefited from his teachings. Therefore Iamblichus compares the *akousmatikoi* with ill persons that succeed in recovering from the diseases afflicting them just because they follow the prescriptions of the physicians, even if they know nothing of them.

49 For what concerns *mimēsis*: R. 602c-605c; Lg. 655a-656b; 660a; 668a-669e; 670e; Ti. 80b5-7.

Iamblichus therefore proceeds to a reconstruction of the character of Pythagoras, inserting the astronomic element of the music of the cosmos, eminently Pythagorean, in a context dominated by the thaumaturgic aspects of *paideia*, a fully Neoplatonic element. From Iamblichus' narration it seems to emerge, accordingly, that if Pythagoras possessed some exceptional abilities of understanding and performance at a musical level, then they will necessarily have to turn into extraordinary powers in the case of ordinary people.

### Musical Catharsis as Ethical Correction and Therapeutic Remedy

The passage referred to is inserted in a context in which catharsis and *paideia* are profoundly interwoven, bringing out Pythagoras' personality as an educator and thaumaturge. Iamblichus' intention also seems to be to highlight Pythagoras' devotion to the people who surround him; this aspect is inseparable from his connotation as an educator, and is extolled in the word ἐπιμέλεια ('care'), used with reference to the actions he devoted to the well-being of his disciples. In *VP* 59, for instance, after saying that for Pythagoras φιλοσοφία meant the search for contemplation of the truth that lies in the order of the cosmos, Iamblichus concludes by extolling the profound ethical value inherent in care over education, which aims at the correction of humankind with a view to its improvement (καλὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὕτη παιδείας ἦν ἐπιμέλεια ἢ συντείνουσα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπανόρθωσιν). Subsequently (*VP* 64) he explains that Pythagoras considered *aisthēsis* as the starting point in taking care of men. Regarding perception, the visual (εἴ τις καλὰ μὲν ὀρώη καὶ σχήματα καὶ εἶδη) and auditory aspects (καλῶν δὲ ἀκούοι ῥυθμῶν καὶ μελῶν) are considered. The formulation conferred by Iamblichus on the Pythagorean programme appears, indeed, very close to Plato's educational project: *paideia* takes on a central role in the Pythagorean *bios* presented by Iamblichus, as a guarantor of *ēthos*, which, as in Plato's *Republic*, becomes in turn a guarantor of the correct psycho-physical development of the individual and his appropriate relations with others.<sup>50</sup>

In Iamb. *VP* 64, *aisthēsis* then provides the basis for the definition of musical *paideia*, founded 'on specific rhythms and melodies able to cure the temperament (τρόποι) and affections (πάθη) of men, as well as to bring the forces of the mind back to the original harmonic equilibrium.' Music, which this time is not defined according to the categories of catharsis, but of therapy, is therefore a cause of recovery (ἱασις), provided that the appropriate melodies (μέλη) and

50 Cf. for instance Pl. *R.* 400d10-401a; 401d4-402a6.

rhythms (ῥυθμοί) are used: the fact is that they not only exert a therapeutic action on the passions but, in a deeply ethical sense, restore the harmony of the 'faculties' (δυνάμεις) that lodge in the soul, and can even cure the body. The beneficial action of music is therefore perceived by the Pythagoreans in a holistic sense, but it is necessary to know how to use it, and to contrive (ἐπινοέω) compositions able to repress and heal both physical and psychic ills (σωματικῶν τε καὶ ψυχικῶν νοσημάτων καταστολαὶ καὶ ἀφυγισμοί). This concept is also subsequently re-emphasised with the affirmation that there are 'proper musical modes' (προσέχοντες τρόποι) whose use is at the basis of the benefits of music therapy.<sup>51</sup>

Iamb. *VP* 64 also proves interesting regarding the ways in which Pythagorean musical therapy was carried out and the forms it took: immediately after expounding the holistic action of music on the individual, Iamblichus speaks of musical 'arrangements' (ἐξαρτύσεις) and 'treatments' (ἐπαφαί)<sup>52</sup> enacted for the purpose (συνέταπτε) and harmonically organized (συνηρμόζετο) by Pythagoras so that they acted on the passions (τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη). As Iamblichus afterwards explains, these treatments consisted in special combinations of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic melodies (κεράσματά τινων μελῶν διατονικῶν τε καὶ χρωματικῶν καὶ ἐναρμονίων), contrived with prodigious ability (δαιμονίως μηχανώμενος) and used for the purpose of driving away from the disciples' minds impulses due to irrationality like fear, anger, jealousy, depression and excitement, and directing them towards virtue.

The concept of a mixture of melodies expressed here seems to hark back to a passage in Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica* (2. 16, pp. 85, 21-86, 7) in which, speaking of musical activity and its parts, and according to the fundamental distinction between masculine and feminine rhythms and *systemata*, he affirms that sometimes, according to the *ēthos* of the person listening, it is appropriate to use melodies in which different qualities are mixed (ἐνίοτε δὲ μικτέον καὶ τῆς ἐτερότητας), since, if an extreme element is used, the effect obtained is to lead to the opposite condition to the existing one the character of the person listening to the melodies (εἰς τοῦναντίον ἀγαγόντες τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἦθος). In this connection, Aristides Quintilianus resorts to medicine as term

51 Iamb. *VP* 164, 'the Pythagoreans assumed that music greatly contributed to health, if the proper modes were used' ([οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι] ὑπελάμβανον δὲ καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν μέγιστα συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ὑγίαν, ἂν τις αὐτῇ χρῆται κατὰ τοὺς προσέχοντας τρόπους).

52 Cf. also Iamb. *VP* 114, 'and moreover the whole Pythagorean school practiced the so-called ἐξάρτυσις ('arrangement'), the συναρμογή ('combination') and ἐπαφή ('treatment'), using certain melodies suitable for conducting the dispositions of the soul to emotions contrary to those possessed before'.

of a comparison.<sup>53</sup> The example proposed concerns the *systemata* of masculine and feminine notes, which manifest different *ēthē*; once these are reciprocally harmonized, through the *mixis* between a type of *systema* (masculine or feminine) and the intermediate rhythm, or between a type of rhythm (again masculine or feminine) and an intermediate *systema*, a positive influence can be found on the *ēthos* of the person listening.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, in Aristides Quintilianus, the beneficial effects of musical performances are not considered in terms of catharsis; instead, a context is delineated in which music is seen as a guarantor of *ēthos*.

The reference to the *mixis* of *systemata* (and, therefore, of *harmoniai*) in this passage by Aristides Quintilianus harks back to the conception according to which in the soul there is not a single ethical disposition, but instead a mixture in which different elements prevail from one occasion to another; this disposition changes according to the circumstances and external promptings, that is to say also according to the *harmoniai* heard, which are the fruit, in turn, of multiform mixtures. Further, the *exartyseis*, the 'arrangements' to which Iamblichus refers in *VP* 64, are dictated by Pythagoras' experience but, more specifically, by the fact that the soul is not always inspired in the same way by the same stimuli, but presents a complexity that changes because of the events which it comes up against and, in general, because of external influences. Hence when he speaks of *exartyseis*, Iamblichus seems to hark back to the same philosophical climate as that evoked by Aristides Quintilianus; and in this interesting passage relating to *ēthos* and its construction in the mind of the disciples through Pythagoras' musical teaching, Neoplatonic psychology also seems to present itself against the background of its representation of the figure of Pythagoras.

A technical aspect also appears very important in Iamb. *VP* 64: this is the distinction between melodies depending on the three γένη, which, according to the testimony of Claudius Ptolemy, was formulated by Archytas,<sup>55</sup> and therefore only dates from the beginning of the 4th century BC. Regarding this aspect, nevertheless, we can observe that Pythagoras' skill in contriving musical remedies for his disciples is underlined by Iamblichus to stress that the

53 Arist. Quint. *De Mus.* 2. 16, p. 85, 30-1, 'a wise doctor does not always give the strongest drugs but will respect the weakness of the patient's constitution'.

54 2. 16, pp. 85, 31-86, 8.

55 Archyt. A16 Huffman = Ptol. *Harm.* 1. 13-4, pp. 30-2. In Iamblichus' account (*VP* 121), by contrast, Pythagoras 'discovered music, organized it and handed it down to his disciples so that they could reach everything that was most beautiful'; cf. also *VP* 115, ' (Pythagoras) discovered the science of harmonics and the harmonic ratios'; *VP* 119-20.

beneficial action of music was not due to mere chance, but instead was sought after according to a method that uses experience and concrete practice. In this passage, moreover, the effect of the appropriate melodies according to the passions to be cured is explicitly compared to that of medicines: thus music fully shows itself as the ‘medicine of passions’, the therapy best suited to curing the ills of the soul in their various manifestations, and it is chosen and dosed according to the particular cases that arise each time.<sup>56</sup>

In this connection, *κράσματα* seems to allude precisely to the versatility of the musical remedies used by the wise man, their multiform values in view of the equilibrium of those that are submitted to them. Further, while deep wisdom is required of the music therapist, seen as the sole person responsible for the therapy, the patient, instead, seems entirely unwitting, and confidently entrusts himself to him.

According to what is hinted at in this section, as well as in Iamb. *VP* 65-6, although deep understanding of music only concerns the wise, who can make it their own decisive instrument of action, listening to music is something easily accessible to everyone thanks to *aisthēsis*, which in a sense becomes the channel through which there passes the process of improvement of individuals. The use of the term *aisthēsis* on the subject of Pythagorean *paideia* recalls, on a different level, the harsh attack by Aristoxenus on those people who interpret musical facts as movement (*κίνησις*),<sup>57</sup> exclusively on the basis of mathematical relationships,<sup>58</sup> and reject *aisthēsis* altogether, considering it as ‘not precise’ (*οὐκ ἀκριβής*).<sup>59</sup> *Aisthēsis* has a most important role in

56 Iamblichus (*VP* 64-5) states that Pythagoras improved the souls of his disciples and cured their passions ‘using the melodies suitable for them as if they were mixtures of drugs that brought safety (διὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μελῶν ὡς διὰ τινων σωτηρίων συγκεκραμένων φαρμάκων)’. Προσῆκον might be an allusion to Plato’s musical *ēthos* (τὸ προσῆκον in *R.* 411e4-412a2 refers to the right point in the tension and relaxation of θυμοειδές and φιλόσοφον, attuned the one to the other (ὅπως ἂν ἀλλήλοισιν συναρμοσθήτον) by music and gymnastics within the *paideia*). The notions of ‘tension’ and ‘relaxation’ in the therapy of the emotions can be found also in Iamb. *VP* 224 (cf. p. 112).

57 Archyt. A19a Huffman = DK 19a (based on fr. 1); Aristox. *Harm.* 1. 12, p. 17, 2-6.

58 Aristox. *Harm.* 2. 32, pp. 41, 19-42, 7; Barker (1989, 149 n. 10); Aristid. Quint. *De Mus.* 3. 2, p. 97, 3-7. For Aristoxenus and *aisthēsis*: Barker (1978); Barker (2007, 168-75).

59 Behind these misguided theorists (ἄλλοτριολογούντες) we can recognise the Pythagoreans who were contemporaries of Aristoxenus, accused of exclusively basing their interpretation of music on mathematics: Barker (2007, 166-8). There is a passage in Plato’s *Republic* (529-530, especially 530d6-9) in which Socrates goes absolutely in the opposite direction to Aristoxenus’ polemic, agreeing with the Pythagorean assumption that harmony and astronomy constitute ‘sister sciences’ (ἀδελφαὶ ἐπιστήμαι) and criticising, among others,



Aristoxenus' speculation, and is also emphasized by both Plato<sup>60</sup> and his followers.<sup>61</sup> According to Aristoxenus (fr. 73 Wehrli = Phld. *Mus.* 3. fr. 76 Kemke), sight and hearing represent 'the most important part of cognition and the most divine among the other senses' (Ἀρισ[τό]ξενος . . . . τὴν ὄ[ρα]σιν καὶ τὴν ἀκο[ή]ν λ[ό]γων [γεγεν]ῆσθαι τὸ κύ[ρ]ιον τ[ῆς] ἐννοί[ας] καὶ θειοτέρας τ[ῶν] ἄλλων αἰσθήσεων), while Ptolemy (*Harm.* 3. 3, pp. 93, 11-94, 20) highlights their importance for μαθηματική—that is, rational knowledge—considering them as the highest and most wonderful senses (p. 93, 12, ταῖς ἀνωτάτω καὶ θαυμασιωτάταις τῶν αἰσθήσεων).<sup>62</sup> Moreover, according to the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* (19. 919b26), only the sense of hearing has *ēthos*.

Because of *ēthos*, the main purpose of music, according to what is affirmed by Iamblichus, seems precisely to be ἐπανόρθωσις, the 'correction' of those people to whom it is addressed in view of the improvement of their minds: indeed, through his melodic combinations Pythagoras 'easily succeeded in inverting, changing into their opposites, the affections of the mind recently generated in a thoughtless way' (*VP* 64, ῥαδίως εἰς τὰ ἐναντία περιέτρεπε καὶ περιήγε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη νέον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως συνιστάμενα καὶ ὑποφύομενα). Subsequently, Iamblichus explains what the πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς are: 'manifestations of pain, anger and compassion, jealousies and absurd fears, drives of every type, appetites, states of excitement, elation, depression, aggressiveness' (λύπας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ ἐλέους καὶ ζήλους ἀτόπους καὶ φόβους, ἐπιθυμίας τε παντοίας καὶ θυμούς καὶ ὀρέξεις καὶ χαυνώσεις καὶ ὑπτιότητας καὶ σφοδρότητας). Significantly, in this

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the Pythagoreans of his time, for the priority given by them to hearing, rather than to mathematics (531b1, ὧτα τοῦ νοῦ προστησάμενοι), in the study and interpretation of music (530e5-531c4; Meriani [2003(b), 579-93]).

- 60 Cf. for instance *R.* 401e-402a, where *aisthēsis* is linked with a proper musical education (which allows us to acknowledge the differences between noble things and base ones before *logos* sets itself within the individuals); *Lg.* 654a2-3 (the gods have given human beings 'the perception, accompanied by pleasure, of rhythm and *harmonia* (τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἑναρμόνιον αἰσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς)'; 670b3 (fifty-year-old men who are required to sing must have a good perception and understanding of both rhythms and *harmoniai*, τῶν γὰρ ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐαίσθητως ἔχειν καὶ γινώσκειν). According to *Ti.* 47c7-d1, 'as much as is useful in the sound of music in relation to hearing was established for the sake of *harmonia*, ὅσον τ' αὐτὸ μουσικῆς φωνῆ χρήσιμον πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἔνεκα ἁρμονίας ἐστὶ δοθέν') (cf. Barker 2000(a); Pelosi 2010, 68-89).
- 61 Cf. for instance the notion of *epistēmōnikē aisthēsis* referred to Speusippus in *S.E. M.* 7. 145-6 = fr. 75 Tarán; for an interpretation of the passage, cf. Kaklamanou (2012). For a general survey on *aisthēsis* in Neoplatonism cf. Hadot 1997.
- 62 According to Ptolemy, sight and hearing cooperate with reason in order to 'penetrate progressively into what is beautiful and what is useful' (3. 3, p. 94, 12, ἐπὶ πλέον τοῦ τε καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρησίου διήκουσιν).



passage, among the harmful passions representing loss of equilibrium of the soul and giving rise to unbecoming behaviours, Iamblichus juxtaposes ἔλεος and φόβος, evoking the two fundamental elements to which Aristotelian tragic catharsis is addressed;<sup>63</sup> Plato too, in the *Laws* (790c5-791b1), advocates care over movement in small children to treat φόβοι, irrational fears that agitate them, analogously to what happens to people who resort to the therapeutic rites of the Corybants. Further, the passion considered by Iamblichus in the anecdotes relating to cases of music therapy effected by Pythagoras<sup>64</sup> will be precisely ὀργή, which in people affected by it induces violent and dangerous behaviours. Pythagoras, precisely, corrected such behaviours, orienting them towards virtue (VP 64, ἐπανορθούμενος πρὸς ἀρετήν),<sup>65</sup> by using music suitable for correcting the passion, which performed a function fully equivalent to that of health-giving medicines mixed on purpose according to the illness it was to cure (VP 64, διὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μελῶν ὡς διὰ τινων σωτηρίων συγκεκραμένων φαρμάκων). In this way, Iamblichus establishes a perfect equivalence between music therapy and therapy through medicines: even the preparation of the remedy is the same, involving, in both cases, a blending of therapeutic elements designed for the appropriate treatment of the particular ailment. This seems to mark the acme of the ethical importance of music in Iamblichus' interpretation of early Pythagoreanism: ethics becomes so predominant and decisive in the general constitution of the individual as to expand to the therapeutic level, causing music, as harmony mirroring the equilibrium in man, to also become therapeutic.<sup>66</sup>

The aspect of 'correction' exerted by music on man also proves particularly evident in VP 111, in which, alongside musical therapy, there is mentioned the custom of reciting verses by Homer and Hesiod πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ψυχῆς;<sup>67</sup> further, Iamblichus (VP 114) concludes his considerations on ethical improvement by means of music affirming that 'in this way, by means of music Pythagoras most usefully improved the character and life of men' (οὕτω μὲν οὖν

63 Arist. *Po.* 1449b24-28; *Pol.* 1342a4-11.

64 Iamb. VP 112-113.

65 Also Strabo (1.2.3) states that the Pythagoreans used music for the improvement of *ēthos*.

66 Iamb. VP 68, 'such was the training of souls that Pythagoras practised by means of music (αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἢ διὰ μουσικῆς ἐπετηδεύετο αὐτῷ κατάρτυσις τῶν ψυχῶν)'. G. Staab (2002, 302) highlights the correspondence between κατάρτυσις and κάθαρσις in Iamb. VP 68. Κατάρτυσις by means of music can be found also in Arist. Quint. *De Mus.* 2. 7, p. 65, 10-1 ('it is now time to explain what kinds of melody and rhythm will discipline (καταρτύνουσιν) the natural emotions'), though without any reference to the κάθαρσις of παθήματα.

67 Cf. also VP 164.

πολυωφελεστάτην κατεστήσατο Πυθαγόρας τὴν διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἡθῶν τε καὶ βίων ἐπανόρθωσιν).<sup>68</sup>

An interesting parallel with Iamblichus' statements on the usefulness of musical correction is afforded, once more, by a passage in Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica*, which affirms that the ancients used music for corrective purposes<sup>69</sup> and, moreover, taking advantage of children's love for song and dance, caused music, through its innate (κατὰ φύσιν) power,<sup>70</sup> to prove formative for them, and not merely a source of superficial enjoyment. This objective, so the musicologist asserts, was attained through care taken over the songs themselves: indeed, thanks to careful consideration and appraisal, the ones chosen were those most appropriate for educational action on children, so as also to obtain an advantage from what, by itself, seemed not to offer any.<sup>71</sup> Once again, the utility of music is seen as its ethical goal, and the same concept seems to be expressed again on the subject of the *ēthē* that characterize musical modes, called by this name precisely because 'through them, in the first place, the faculties of the soul are diagnosed and corrected' (τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καταστήματα διὰ τούτων πρώτον ἐθεωρεῖτό τε καὶ διωροῦτο).<sup>72</sup>

The objective at which the tempering of passions through melodies has to aim is represented by Iamblichus (VP 224) as ἀνδρεία, 'courage', pursued not through eradication of an unfavourable psychic state, but through reorganisation of it:<sup>73</sup> in the same passage, Iamblichus refers to μετρίότης, the 'correct measure' of states of mind. The consideration given to the starting conditions is particularly notable: a state is not eliminated to replace it with another one, but is worked on to transform it, according to a process of 'harmonization'—through tightening and loosening<sup>74</sup>—in which the most suitable music for restoring equilibrium must be sought.

68 For music as an instrument for ἐπανόρθωσις, cf. also VP 195.

69 Aristid. Quint. *De Mus.* 2.4, p. 57, 2-13, 'why then are we surprised to find that it was mostly through music that people in ancient times produced moral correction (πλείστην ἐπανόρθωσιν πεποιήσθαι διὰ μουσικῆς)?'.

70 *De Mus.* 2. 4, p. 57, 13-4.

71 *De Mus.* 2. 4, p. 57, 22, κόσμιον καὶ χρήσιμον ἐξ ἀχρήστου πεποιήκασιν.

72 *De Mus.* 1. 12, p. 30, 14-5.

73 'The Pythagoreans also had melodies conceived for the passions of the soul—for instance, for lack of spirit and gnawing pain (πρὸς τε ἀθυμίας καὶ δηγμούς)—which were considered as most efficacious (βοηθητικώτατα) remedies. By means of other melodies, that were efficacious against anger and excitement (πρὸς τε τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θυμούς), they tightened (ἐπιτείνοντες) and loosened (ἀνιέντες) such passions till they became moderate and suitable to manly courage (ἄχρι τοῦ μετρίου σύμμετρα πρὸς ἀνδρείαν)'; cf. also n. 56 above.

74 This notion appears in Pl. R. 411e-412a.

Although emphasis is given to catharsis, Iamblichus' *De vita pythagorica* then includes different notions and definitions concerning the effects of music: in particular, the reader can easily discover that the effectiveness of musical therapy is expressed through the notion of 'harmonization', including both 'correction' and 'transformation'.<sup>75</sup>

The goal of medical-musical treatment therefore appears to be closely connected with the ethical dimension: once more, we see that *ēthos*, *paideia* and medicine are closely interwoven in the ancient Pythagoreanism revisited by Iamblichus.

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75 Cf. the references to συναρμογαί and ἐξάρτυσις in Iamb. *VP* 64.

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## Notes on the *Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhynum* by Carlo Valgulio (Brescia 1507)

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### Abstract

The *Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhynum*, written by Carlo Valgulio at the end of the 15th century and published in Brescia in 1507 as an introduction to his Latin translation of the Plutarchean *De musica*, was one of the first descriptions and re-evaluations of ancient Greek music in the Modern Age. It was an extremely important text for music theorists such as Franchino Gaffurio, Vincenzo Galilei and Gioseffo Zarlino. This text is based upon a wide range of Greek sources, almost all of which derive from Porphyry's *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics*. On the basis of manuscripts that were at his disposal, Valgulio produced the first Latin translations of all of these materials, commented on them and related them to his general argument, often adding personal observations. This study examines several passages of this text dealing with psycho-musicological topics, with the conative function of music and the relationship between music and dance.

### Keywords

Ancient Greek music in the Renaissance – Carlo Valgulio – Plutarchean *De Musica* – Porphyry – Theophrastus – Lucian

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\* When quoting the *Prooemium*, I will follow the page number of the edition printed in Brescia in 1507. In this study I provide an emended version of the original text, where I corrected some mistakes and oversights and followed the orthographic conventions of classical Latin.

## 1 Introduction

Musicologists know the name of the humanist scholar Carlo Valgulio (Brescia, ca. 1434-1517) mostly because of three of his numerous works<sup>1</sup> that were published between 1507 and 1509 and won him the privilege of being mentioned in a list of influential intellectuals in the field of music provided under the entry *Musique* in the *Encyclopédie* edited by D. Diderot and J.-B. d'Alembert. This entry was written by J.-J. Rousseau and was eventually included in his *Dictionnaire de Musique*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Prooemium in Musicam Plutarchi ad Titum Pyrrhinum*, written by Valgulio as an introduction to his Latin translation of the Plutarchean *De Musica* (*Musica Plutarchi a Charolo Valgulio Brixiano uersa in latinum*), was one of the first descriptions and re-evaluations of ancient Greek music in the Modern Age. These texts, which are currently regarded as two of the most important documents of musical humanism,<sup>3</sup> were published for the first time in Brescia in 1507 and in the following years enjoyed great editorial success. They were definitely known to Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590); their Italian translations circulated also in the Camerata Fiorentina, certainly thanks to Vincenzo Galilei (ca. 1520-1591), who was one of the liveliest members of the group.<sup>4</sup> Two years later, in 1509, Valgulio published the *Contra uituperatorem musicae*, a treatise

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1 Thanks to his excellent knowledge of Greek and Latin, Valgulio produced several Latin translations of Greek texts by Isocrates, Arrian, Cleomedes, Plutarch, Aelius Aristides, Dio Chrysostom; some of these translations are still unpublished. His personal library included the manuscript that is currently known as Par. Gr. 1811, which contains the whole Platonic oeuvre. He moved from Brescia to Firenze, Arezzo, Venice and Rome, where he spent considerable time at the Apostolic Vatican Library between 1481 and 1498 and worked in the high papal bureaucracy, becoming secretary of Cesare Borgia (who was cardinal from 1493 to 1498). He kept contact with humanists of the calibre of Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, Janus Lascaris, Pietro Gravina and Marino Becichemo. Since 1502, at the latest, he moved back to Brescia and played an active role in local public life. His Latin translation of the Plutarchean *De musica* must have been completed in the 1470s and a manuscript copy of this translation must have been in the hands of Franchino Gaffurio (1451-1522). The *Prooemium* must certainly have been written after 1502. For additional details on these topics, cf. Meriani 2011, 239, 254, and Meriani 2015, §§1, 3, with the bibliography mentioned there.

2 Rousseau 1768, 319.

3 On musical humanism, the most important reference work is Palisca 1985—see pp. 1-50 for a general overview on the re-discovery of Greek sources by musical theorists between the 14th and 16th century. On more specific aspects, cf. Gallo 1981; Gallo 1989; Restani 1990.

4 Meriani 2015, §§6-8.



that focuses especially on the aesthetic and ethico-political aspects of the discipline and examines them from a wider perspective.<sup>5</sup>

The *Prooemium* is dedicated to Titus Pyrrhinus, a person who is otherwise unknown under this name. The scanty references to him in the *Prooemium* seem to outline the profile of a scholar who was in the formative phase of his life at the time of publication of the work dedicated to him:

[b iiv] Tite [...], qui omnibus curis praeterquam disciplinarum percipiendarum uacuus es ac liber [...].

After all, one of the explicit aims of the *Prooemium* is to provide the dedicatee with some additional elements to complete his already excellent *curriculum studiorum*:

[b iv-iir] Haec ad te potissimum scribenda Tite putavi, percupiens in hac quoque te disciplina, quamquam non sine approbatione auditorum te canere intellego, ut in caeteris quoque omnibus optimarum artium ornamentis excellere.

From these words we learn that Titus, in addition to excelling in many other disciplines, was a successful singer, although we do not know to what extent he practised this activity. Valgulo's text provides only a hint in this sense: in fact, in the lines immediately following the passage we have just read, Valgulo refers to the well-known part of the *Politics* where Aristotle recommends, among other things, that young free citizens should receive a degree of musical training that allows them to enjoy music performed by professional musicians:<sup>6</sup>

[b iir] Nam et ipse Aristoteles in libris de republica praecipit musicam studiose pueris esse discendam, ut protinus recte laetari consuescant.

From this point onwards, Valgulo paraphrases also other passages of Aristotle's text, but we can definitely hypothesise that this reference to 'amateur' musical practice helps to delineate Titus Pyrrhinus' approach to singing.

In the light of numerous archive documents dated between 1502 and 1523, it seems possible that the name Titus Pyrrhinus is simply the Latinised ver-

5 This text is published in Cullington 2001, 87-101. Cf. Bowd-Cullington 2002, 158-171.

6 Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 8.1340b20-1341a18; cf. also 1339a31-33.

sion of the Italian Tito Perini da Cazzaniga<sup>7</sup>—a clergyman from Brescia who in his youth was a pupil (*alunnus*)<sup>8</sup> of Valgulio. Later he came into contact with a humanist of the calibre of Janus Lascaris,<sup>9</sup> probably thanks to his teacher, with whom he kept a close relationship. Therefore, it seems difficult to imagine that the dedicatee of Valgulio's work could have been a professional musician, as has been argued in the past.<sup>10</sup> His profile rather seems to resemble that of a young intellectual who, while acquiring an education to become a clergyman, was also an active musician—a complementary activity in which he excelled just as much as he did in the other 'core' disciplines. After all, studying and practising music were important elements of the general education of a clergyman.

On the other hand, Valgulio wanted to encourage Titus to devote his energies to a complex reform of contemporary music that would bring theoretical and practical aspects of the discipline back together. In order to do this, he clearly needed an excellent knowledge of ancient music, comprising its history, the fundamental elements of ancient musical theory, the forms and contexts of musical performances, as well as the mechanisms by means of which music affects the psyche and behaviour of the listeners. At the time, these topics must have been completely unknown to professional musicians, whose ignorance is openly underlined by Valgulio.<sup>11</sup> In other words, only a humanist in the wider sense of the term would have been able to build, develop and introduce a new model of musical composition and practice, while professional musicians of the time were perhaps the less suitable candidates for this role.

The content of the *Prooemium* is based on a very significant number of Greek texts, presented in a Latin version for the first time. We know many of them only because they are mentioned in Porphyry's *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonica*, which must have been also Valgulio's source; he must have read

7 For a list of these documents, see Meriani 2015, §2 note 12. One of them, dated 22.10.1502, states Valgulio's intention to grant Tito Perini a life annuity.

8 Janus Lascaris uses this word to qualify a certain Titus in one of his replies to Valgulio; he sent his reply probably in 1513, from Rome to Brescia, where Valgulio lived at the time. It seems likely that the 'Titus' mentioned by Lascaris was the same person to whom the *Prooemium* is dedicated. The text of Lascaris' letter, which is contained in Vat. Gr. 1902 (f.207r-v), is published with a commentary in Pontani 1992, 365, 407-408, 415-416, where further details are provided.

9 Cf. Meriani 2015, §2.

10 Palisca 1989, 14; previously, he was not so explicit: cf. Palisca 1985, 88. In the past, I have defended this hypothesis as well: cf. Meriani 2006, 147-168, esp. 152 note 27.

11 Cf. Valgulio 1507, b iiv.

this text in one of the manuscripts he had access to,<sup>12</sup> since the *editio princeps* was printed only in 1699.<sup>13</sup> So he was the first to make parts of this fundamental work known to a wider public, a work that at the time was almost inaccessible even to the most refined of music theorists and was practically ignored by the most curious and careful humanists.

## 2 Psychomusicology between Platonism and Aristotelianism: Theophrastus

At the beginning of the *Prooemium*, by referring to the frequent criticisms voiced in ancient Attic comedy against musicians who threw dishonour (*labes*) upon music with their extreme innovations, Valgulio introduces the idea that excessively elaborate music is harmful to the citizens' psyche and behaviour, and therefore influences negatively political life as a whole:

[a iir] Queritur comoedia uetus, cuius licentia increpandi mores erat liberior, in musicam fuisse iniectam labem, et execratur polluendae eius auctores, alioquin elegantis ingenii poëtas, quod, auctis fidibus et uarietate concentuum, dithyrambisque conditis biforibus, ac iocunda fraude gratis uulgo uersibus, ex forti illa, seuera, decora atque simplici musica, mollem quandam, illecebrosam, calamistratam, ac uariam intulissent. «At quid inde mali?» dicet aliquis. Ingens profecto, atque latissime manans, et quidem in res potiores. Nullane sunt mala, emolliri et languefieri animos ciuium? nullane amissi pudoris, et corruptorum morum? «At quid id interest morum?» Sane plurimum.<sup>14</sup>

The explanation of the mechanism by means of which music affects the listeners is based upon the musical structure of the human soul, which comprises four elements and therefore may be likened to a tetrachord: morally correct behaviours depend on a correct harmonisation of these four elements. This argument is based on a logical premise that is not explicitly stated but is clearly presupposed by the author, namely that human behaviour is entirely determined by the impulse of the soul, both positively and negatively. The four

12 Cf. Meriani 2015, §§9-10.

13 Wallis 1699, 183-386.

14 The idea that music is insulted and dishonoured by musical innovators is certainly borrowed from a passage by Pherecrates mentioned in Plut. *De mus.* 30, 1141D-1142A (= Pherecr. fr. 155 K.-A.).

constituents of the soul are respectively *intellectus*, *ratio*, *phantasia* (also referred to as *imaginatio*) and *sensus*.<sup>15</sup> Among these elements, the first one is divine in nature, the last two are mortal; the intermediate one (*ratio*), which characterises human beings, may be directed either towards the divine element or towards the mortal ones:

[a iir] animus noster quasi tetrachordum quoddam, intellectu, ratione, phantasia, ac sensibus (si Platonicis credimus) constat. Intellectus diuinus est, in quo nil est nisi simplex ac purum et uniforme. Imaginatio ac sensus mortales partes sunt, proinde mutationibus, uarietatibusque refertae. Media ratio propria humanae est naturae, arbitriumque anceps habet inclinandi ad diuina et ad mortalia.<sup>16</sup>

Therefore *ratio*, similarly to the string *mese*, will determine excellent moral behaviour if it is harmonised with the divine component of the soul (*intellectus*). By contrast, if it follows the mortal elements, it elicits entirely undesirable behaviours:

[a iir-v] si igitur ratio, ut mese neruus, cum diuina parte illa quasi neruo quodam se temperauerit, admirabiles morum concentus, simplices uidelicet, graues, decoros creabit. Sin se consociauerit cum mortalibus, uarios, molles indecoros pariet.

In the first case, Valgulio employs the expression *morum concentus* in order to describe the morally correct result of the harmonisation of *ratio* with *intellectus*, but it is clear from the context that the same expression is implicit also in the second case and indicates the morally undesirable result of the union

15 Albeit substantially modified and adapted, this formulation seems to echo some traits of the description of the perceptual faculties reported in Porph. *In Ptol. Harm.* 1.1.13, 15–14.28 Düring. I owe this suggestion to Massimo Raffa.

16 According to Valgulio, this description of the soul derives from a Platonic theory (*si Platonicis credimus*), but I have not been able to identify its exact source: in Plato's *Timaeus* (39d), the soul is divided into mortal and immortal parts and chapter 26 of Ficino's *Compendium in Timaeum* described various fourfold divisions of the soul, but none of them corresponds to the one presented here: cf. Palisca 1989, 31 note 3. On the relationship between Ficino and Valgulio, cf. Meriani 2011, 231–232. Valgulio might have chosen the vague indication of *Platonici* precisely because he felt that the argument had a Platonic flavour but was not able to find a precise match in Plato's extant work; otherwise, if the suggestion given in footnote 15 is right, we might speculate that Valgulio attributed Porphyry's views to Thrasyllus, who would have been correctly described as *Platonicus*.

of *ratio* with *phantasia/imaginatio* and *sensus*. In musical contexts, the term *concentus* does not mean only 'perfect consonance' but may also indicate more generally other kinds of relationship between sounds; in keeping with this distinction, in the first case the expression *morum concentus* is further connoted by means of positive adjectives (*admirabiles* [...] *simplices* [...], *graves*, *decoros*), while in the second case it is accompanied by negative adjectives (*uarios*, *molles*, *indecoros*). In brief, human behaviours are conceived here as 'relationships between actions' and are associated with more or less harmonious relationships between sounds created by music. In addition, it is interesting to note that the whole process of 'tuning' in either direction depends on the choice made by *ratio*, which means that this part is to be regarded as being ultimately responsible for the morally positive or negative outcome of a subject's actions.

Of course, from a strictly technical point of view it would be possible to underline some inconsistencies between these two psycho-musicological metaphors (soul/tetrachord, *ratio/mese*),<sup>17</sup> but perhaps it is not worth getting into these details, given that Valgulo himself introduces them with great caution (*animus noster quasi tetrachordum quoddam* [...] *ratio, ut mese neruus, cum diuina parte illa quasi neruo quodam se temperauerit*). Nonetheless, the conceptual basis of this passage is clear: taking as granted the assumption that human actions are determined by an impulse of the soul, the moral correctness of a person's actions depends on a specific 'tuning' of his/her soul, a process in which *ratio* seems to play a crucial role.

In the following pages of the text, Valgulo explains how *ratio*'s choice to move in either of the two directions is determined in turn by the strength and quality of the type of music (*cantici modi*) that enters into the soul *from the outside*. In relation to this, we are presented with a very effective image which depicts *ratio* accompanied on one side by good advisers, on the other by bad ones: different types of music may lead it to listen to one group or the other, and different kinds of behaviour derive from the relationship established with them:

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17 First of all, according to the description provided in ancient Greek treatises on harmonics, *mese* is not one of the intermediate notes of a tetrachord, but one of the extreme notes; secondly, all the sounds of a tetrachord are harmonically related to each other by definition, so the situation described by Valgulo here, where only two out of four sounds are harmonised to each other, would be impossible. In keeping with this, it seems that the terms *temperare* and *se consociare* do not have a strictly technical meaning in this passage.

[a iiv] Tanta enim est uis canticis modis in utramque partem, ut, quales ipsi in animos praesertim teneros illapsi fuerint ciuium, decori graues seueri aut contra leues languidi uarii ac molles, ita rationem, ancipitem ac dubitantem, ad consortionem optimorum aut pessimorum stipantium latera ipsius consultorum, quorum consiliis uel elegantes uel degeneres mores finguntur, pertracturi esse uideantur. Neminem autem esse puto tam stupidum tamque plumbeum, qui cantu non moueatur.

In this new image, it is clear that the function of the advisers of *ratio* is the same that was attributed, in the previous metaphor, to the three strings that represented the other components of the soul—a depiction that underlined also the intermediate nature of *ratio* with regard to the other elements.

In order to describe the different types of music to which the soul is exposed, Valgulo employs almost the same adjectives he used to characterise the various *mores* resulting from different ‘tunings’ of the soul: the *cantici modi* labelled as *decori*, *graues*, *seueri* lead the soul to listen to the ‘good’ advisers (which would correspond to *intellectus* in the ‘tetrachordal soul’) and determine *mores elegantes*. By contrast, *cantici modi* described as *leues*, *languidi*, *uarii ac molles* prompts *ratio* to associate with the ‘bad’ advisers (which correspond to *phantasia/imaginatio* and *sensus* in the ‘tetrachordal soul’), resulting in *mores degeneres*.

Now, if music acts upon the ‘strings of the soul’, creating different types of tunings and, therefore, different behaviours, *music itself* is ultimately responsible for the moral character of human behaviours. In this sense, the action of music could be defined as ‘conative’ and this is exactly what Valgulo wanted to show, leaving in the background the fact that, in order to avoid negative consequences on public life, it will be necessary to avoid exposing the souls of the citizens to those kinds of music that cause morally undesirable behaviours.

Except for the image of the soul’s ‘advisers’, which to the best of my knowledge is not attested in ancient literature, the basic framework of this argument is perfectly in line with Plato’s psycho-musicological reflections.<sup>18</sup> The following passage, instead, is explicitly based upon Theophrastus’ theories and introduces a different idea concerning the cathartic function of music:

[a iiv] Praeclare Theophrastus in secundo Musicae inquit, naturam musicae esse motum animae inuecta a perturbationibus mala ab ea depellentem, quod ni musica efficeret, ut uidelicet animum quo uellet pertraheret, naturam ipsius omnino nullam futuram.

18 On this question, see Barker 2005, *passim*; cf. as well Boeth. *Mus.* 1.1.

We know the passage Valgوليو refers to here only via Porphyry, who quotes it verbatim in his *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonica*,<sup>19</sup> which must have been also Valgوليو's source. This very long quotation—not less than four pages in Düring's edition<sup>20</sup>—comes from the second book of Theophrastus' *Περὶ μουσικῆς* and touches upon many technical and specialist questions. But Valgوليو's reading is very selective: he was interested in underlining again the powerful influence that music has on the soul, as well as its relevant ethico-political effects. So Valgوليو produces a skilful selection of a few elements of the original text—elements which in Porphyry's view were quite insignificant—and uses them to introduce the idea that music purifies the soul from the evils caused by intense emotions and, therefore, may be usefully employed to improve the citizens' behaviour. As we will see later on, Valgوليو mentions the beginning and the end of Theophrastus' text, as well as two elements used by Porphyry to introduce this passage in his treatise.<sup>21</sup>

Porphyry quotes this long text to strengthen his refutation of Ptolemy's doctrine according to which pitch is a quantitative and not a qualitative property of sound.<sup>22</sup> But Theophrastus' text opens with a comment that is completely unrelated to its main topic: the author states that the melodic movement that takes place within the soul (*περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν*) is very precise (*σφόδρα ἀκριβές*) whenever the soul wants to express it through the voice. In fact, the soul is capable of guiding the voice exactly in the direction it wants to (Porph. in *Ptol. Harm.* I 3, p. 61, 22–24 Düring):

Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον κίνημα μελωδικὸν περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σφόδρα ἀκριβές, ὁπότεν φωνῇ ἐθέλῃσι [scil. ἡ ψυχὴ] ἐρμηνεύειν αὐτό, τρέπει μὲν [scil. ἡ ψυχὴ] τήνδε [scil. τὴν φωνήν], τρέπει δ' ἐφ' ὅσον οἷα τ' ἐστὶ τὴν ἄλλον [scil. φωνήν] τρέψαι, καθ' ὃ ἐθέλει.<sup>23</sup>

In the following pages, Theophrastus produces a painstaking refutation of the theories that interpret this precision (*ἀκριβεία*) from a purely arithmetical

19 Porph. in *Ptol. Harm.* 1.3.61.18–65.15 Düring = Theophr. Fr. 716 Fortenbaugh. On this fragment by Theophrastus, cf. Barker 1985, Sicking 1998, Barker 2004 and Barker 2005, 133–134.

20 Porph. in *Ptol. Harm.* 1.3.61.24–65.13 Düring.

21 Valgوليو mentions Theophrastus in two other passages of the *Prooemium*, both dealing with quantitative and qualitative properties of sounds. This shows that he took into account also other aspects of the text quoted by Porphyry: cf. Meriani 2015, §15 note 108.

22 Cf. *Ptol. Harm.* 1.3 (6.13–19.15 Düring). Porphyry's comments are mostly based upon 9.6–15 Düring.

23 In interpreting this passage, I follow the interpretative lines suggested by Barker 1985, 312 (= Barker 1989, 111 and Barker 1992, 563).



point of view, and this is the passage that is relevant to Porphyry. But at the end of this refutation, Theophrastus mentions again the movement of the soul,<sup>24</sup> and states that this movement corresponds to the essential nature (φύσις) of μουσική, which has a purifying function. This is precisely the aspect that interests Valgulio (Porph. in *Ptol. Harm.* I 3, p. 65, 13-15 Düring):

μία δὲ φύσις τῆς μουσικῆς· κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ κατ' ἀπόλυσιν γινομένη τῶν διὰ τὰ πάθη κακῶν, ἣ εἰ μὴ ἦν, οὐδ' ἂν ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς φύσις ἦν.

The text quoted by Porphyry must have belonged to a longer and more general examination: the γάρ that opens Porphyry's quotation of Theophrastus must have originally introduced an explanation of what was stated before. In addition, the specificity of the question examined here—a particular quality (ἀκρίβεια) of a certain type of psychic movement (κίνημα μελωδητικόν)—leads us to assume that the section of Theophrastus' *Περὶ μουσικῆς* from which Porphyry took this passage concerned more generally the capability of music to determine a particular kind of movement of the soul, or maybe even different types of psychological movements.

Even though the bulk of Theophrastus' text is devoted to a refutation of the theory according to which pitch depends exclusively on quantitative aspects, it is very significant that, as far as we can tell on the basis of Porphyry's quotation, the refutation begins and ends with the idea that it is the soul's inner movement that generates μέλος, which in turn purifies the soul from the evils that entered into it by means of emotions. In brief, we are presented here with a theoretical foundation for an autogenous form of musical psychotherapy; but it is also important to underline that, in Theophrastus' view, this kind of psychotherapy corresponds to the essential nature of music: music *is* psychotherapy.

Under this respect, Theophrastus' views are very different from Plato's. Theophrastus does not mention any kind of 'tunings' of the soul created by means of specific types of music, conceived as *external* forces that might have positive or negative ethico-political effects on the soul; on the contrary, he envisages a therapeutic mechanism that is triggered and managed *by the soul itself*, by means of which the soul frees itself from its own evils—a process whose outcome cannot be anything but positive.<sup>25</sup>

24 The expression employed here—κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς—is even more explicit than the one used at the beginning of the passage, κίνημα [...] περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν.

25 On these questions, cf. Barker 2005, 131-137. According to Theophrastus, music is not a means to acquire the 'good'; it rather aims at purifying the soul from its own evils. Sicking 1998 underlines the parallel with Arist. *Pol.* 8.1341b32-ff.

In order to analyse in greater detail how Valgulo uses his source, i.e. how he drastically summarises its content and significantly alters its structure and meaning, it will be useful to compare the two texts side by side:

Praeclare Theophrastus in secundo Musicae inquit, naturam musicae esse motum animae inuecta a perturbationibus mala ab ea depellentem, quod ni musica efficeret, ut uidelicet animum quo uellet pertraheret, naturam ipsius omnino nullam futuram.

a) p. 61, 18-24 Düring: Θεόφραστος διὰ πλειόνων καὶ ἰσχυρῶν, ὥς γ' ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, τοῦ δόγματος δείξας τὴν ἀτοπίαν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς, οὗ [...] τὰ λεγόμενα ἔχοντα οὕτως· Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον κίνημα μελωδητικὸν περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σφόδρα ἀκριβές, ὁπόταν φωνὴ ἐβελήσῃ [*scil.* ἡ ψυχὴ] ἐρμηνεύειν αὐτό, τρέπει μὲν τὴνδε [*scil.* τὴν φωνήν], τρέπει [*scil.* ἡ ψυχὴ] δ' ἐφ' ὅσον οἷα τ' ἐστὶ τὴν ἄλογον [*scil.* φωνήν] τρέψαι, καθ' ὃ ἐθέλει [...]

b) p. 65, 13-15 Düring: μία δὲ φύσις τῆς μουσικῆς· κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ κατ' ἀπόλυσιν γινομένη τῶν διὰ τὰ πάθη κακῶν, ἢ εἰ μὴ ᾗ, οὐδ' ἂν ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς φύσις ᾗ.

Valgulo condenses into one word (*praeclare*) Porphyry's detailed comments on the effectiveness of Theophrastus' arguments (διὰ πλειόνων καὶ ἰσχυρῶν, ὥς γ' ἑμαυτὸν πείθω, τοῦ δόγματος δείξας τὴν ἀτοπίαν), but reports in detail the reference to the work quoted by Porphyry (ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ Περὶ μουσικῆς = *in secundo Musicae*).<sup>26</sup> Then he focuses on the end of the passage quoted by Porphyry. Governed by the verb *inquit*, the infinitive clause

naturam musicae esse motum animae inuecta a perturbationibus mala ab ea depellentem

corresponds exactly to the following sentence in Theophrastus:

μία δὲ φύσις τῆς μουσικῆς· κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ κατ' ἀπόλυσιν γινομένη τῶν διὰ τὰ πάθη κακῶν.

<sup>26</sup> Porph. *In Ptol Harm.* 1.3.61.18-20 Düring, which is not mentioned in Palisca 1989, 32 note 4.

However, the three sentences that follow in Valgulo's text are based upon elements that he took from different parts of the original version; this shows that he kept skimming through Porphyry's quotation while he was composing this passage. The resulting period, introduced by *quod*, is presented as an explanation of what was stated before:

quod ni musica efficeret, ut uidelicet animum quo uellet pertraheret, naturam ipsius omnino nullam futuram.

More precisely, Valgulo derived the conjunction *ni* from the conditional clause 'εἰ μὴ ἦν [...] and translated almost verbatim the last sentence (οὐδ' ἂν ἡ τῆς μουσικῆς φύσις ἦν) by means of an infinitive clause which depends on the introductory *verbum dicendi* (*inquit*); in addition, he inserted between these two elements an idea taken from the opening section of Theophrastus' text (τρέπει [...] καθ' ὃ ἐθέλει), which is expressed by means of a consecutive clause.

These differences are not merely formal: the substantial change between Theophrastus' text and Valgulo's version concerns the grammatical subject of the verbs. In Theophrastus, the action is always performed by the soul. In fact, at the beginning of the passage, the implicit subject of the verbs ἐθέλησθαι and τρέπει clearly is ἡ ψυχὴ; and in the final section, when Theophrastus says that the nature of music (φύσις τῆς μουσικῆς) is to be identified with the movement of the soul (κίνησις τῆς ψυχῆς) that liberates it from the evils caused by emotions, it is clear that τῆς ψυχῆς is a subjective genitive. By contrast, in Valgulo's text the subject of the verbs *efficeret* and *pertraheret* is always *musica*: he says clearly that music leads the soul (*animus*) in the desired direction, and the context suggests that this is the true and only purpose of music. Contrarily to what is stated by Theophrastus, the soul is presented as an inactive entity, which does not perform any movements: in the expression *motus animae*, the genitive *animae* is evidently an objective genitive, as is clarified by the following explanation (*quod ni musica efficeret, ut [...]*). The soul is a receiver: music enters into it from the outside and moves it in a certain direction. In a sense, we could say that Theophrastus' thought is reshaped in keeping with a Platonic perspective.

There is another subtle but crucial difference between these two texts. In Theophrastus, it is through the voice that the soul can express (ἐρμηνεύειν) its inner κίνημα μελωδητικόν; and the voice may be moved very precisely within the dimension of sound. Given what is stated at the end of the passage quoted by Porphyry, we can conclude that in Theophrastus' view the soul needs the voice in order to be delivered from those evils that entered into it through emotions;

in other words, this is an autogenous musico-therapeutic mechanism, which obviously implicates also an active involvement of the bodily dimension.

Nevertheless, in interpreting the original text, Valgulo eliminates all references to the voice and the elements related to it—the precision of the κίνημα μελωδικόν and the enigmatic observation stating that the soul, in keeping with its own powers, is capable of guiding also an ἄλογον voice.<sup>27</sup> This is neither an oversimplification of the original text nor an interpretative stretch: Theophrastus just states the opposite of what Valgulo attributes to him.

It may be useful to examine the reasons why Valgulo produced such an evidently falsified version of the original text. As is well-known, Aristotle, Theophrastus' master, maintained as well that music is capable of purifying the soul from the evils caused by excessively intense emotions. In the final section of the *Prooemium*, Valgulo refers to some very famous passages of Book 8 of Aristotle's *Politics* that deal with this question, and the way in which the reference is introduced suggests that he approved unconditionally the ideas expressed by Aristotle (see note 6). But, according to Aristotle, the therapeutic use of music is only one of its many functions; even more importantly, Aristotle never says that music is created within the soul, with the aim of purifying it. So I think we can safely state that, in Aristotle's view, music, even when it is employed as a therapy, should always be administered to the subject from the outside, just like a drug.

In this respect Theophrastus' doctrine, which regards the subject as the only source of musical production, is very different from that of his master. It seems clear that Valgulo was interested in integrating Aristotle's views with an element borrowed from Theophrastus' theory, namely that the nature of music is essentially therapeutic; on the other hand, however, he did not want to accept the most peculiar trait of Theophrastus' theory, i.e. the autogenous origin of music, an aspect that would be difficult to reconcile with an ethico-political system in which, as we have seen, music plays a regulative function. In such a system, it is obvious that the production of music must be closely monitored and controlled.<sup>28</sup>

27 The interpretation of this passage remains problematic: cf. Barker 1985, 322–323, Matelli 2001, 171, Sicking 1998, 107–108.

28 Valgulo develops this idea further in *Contra uituperatorem musicae* 4 (97 Cullington): 'Permanifesto certe aegritudinem ex animis hominum canticis modis depellimus, iras mollimus perturbationesque ceteras sedamus'. Here the terms *aegritudo* and *depellere* indicate clearly that Theophrastus is one of Valgulo's sources, together with Boeth. 1.1 (which Cullington 2001, 91 note 4, identifies as the only source of this passage).

In conclusion, it seems clear that Valgulo aimed at integrating Platonic and Aristotelian views that conceive music as an *external* influence on the soul with Theophrastus' approach, according to which the essential nature of music is therapeutic. In order to achieve this, he is willing to pay the price of falsifying Theophrastus' thought. In Plato's view, music can have positive or negative effects on the soul and for this reason the Philosophers will have to select carefully the kinds of music to be allowed in the ideal city. By contrast, Theophrastus argued that music may deliver the soul from undesirable states caused by many factors, and therefore each subject can decide independently if and how s/he should use music as a therapeutic tool. The part of this theory that Valgulo does not accept is that musical therapy may be autogenous: similarly to Aristotle, he maintained that both education (*paideia*) and therapy must be heterogenous, and therefore must be created and controlled from the outside.

### 3 An Example of the Conative Function of Music (and Its Source)

A practical example of the conative effect of music, which is entirely consistent with Plato's psycho-musicology, is included in the description of the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς provided by Valgulo in the section of the *Prooemium* devoted to musical νόμοι:

[a iiir] Orthia Palladis lex erat, argumentum bellicum continens, quod nomen Palladis declarat duellis aptae deae; omnia—uox, cantus fidium, rhythmus, materia—bellicum concinebant, et personabant. Hanc legem [scil. Palladis] cum Timotheus caneret, uir omnium regum atque imperatorum clarissimus Alexander Macedo perpulsus est ad capessenda arma, et exclamauit eiusmodi esse cantica regia oportere. Orthiorum septem species erant, in quibus lex Palladis, quam dixi.

The few extant Greek sources on the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς contradict each other in many respects but this is not the place to examine them in detail. However, we can observe that none of them lists all the elements that emphasised its military character, as happens in the passage above (*argumentum bellicum continens* [...] *omnia—uox, cantus fidium, rhythmus, materia—bellicum concinebant*); of course, this characterisation is suggested by its association with Athena, the warrior goddess par excellence.

In a passage of the Plutarchean *De Musica* (17, 1137a) we are told only that the kind of music played in honour of Ares and Athena boosts the spirit of a

temperate man (ἐπιρρώσαι [...] ἀνδρὸς σώφρονος ψυχὴν; it is worth noting that the term νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς does not appear in this passage—the expression employed here is τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἄρη καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν). In addition Dio Chrysostom (1-2 cent. A.D.), whose works were well-known to Valgulo, mentions the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς at the beginning of the oration *De regno* (*Or.* 1.1-2), where he recounts an event from the life of Alexander the Great; he states that the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς was performed by an aulete called Timotheus and describes it as follows: οὐ μαλακὸν αὐλῆμα οὐδὲ ἀναβεβλημένον οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἀγόντων.<sup>29</sup> Therefore I am inclined to believe that the detailed list of the martial traits of the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς provided by Valgulo results from his own interpretation of the sources.

Only four of the extant sources on the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς describe it as ὄρθιος and all of them refer to the event of Alexander's life mentioned by Valgulo. One of them is precisely the aforementioned passage of Dio Chrysostom, but he does not include Alexander's comment on the appropriateness of this kind of music for a king. By contrast, this detail is reported in three different passages of the *Suda* recounting the same event,<sup>30</sup> but none of them contains the list of the seven ancient types of νόμος Ὀρθιος that instead is mentioned by Valgulo. Interestingly the list is reported in one entry that follows one of these three passages of the *Suda*. Let us have a closer look at the text:

*Sud.* ο 573 Adler <Ὀρθιασμάτων:> ἀνατάσεως ῥημάτων· ἢ τῶν μετὰ βοῆς κόμπων· ἢ τῶν μελῶν· παρόσον ὄρθιος νόμος κιθαρῳδικός· καὶ <Ὀρθιος νόμος> Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητῆς ἡϋλεῖ ποτὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸν ὄρθιον νόμον καλούμενον καὶ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐξέπληττεν Ἀλέξανδρον τοῖς μέλεσιν, ὡς μεταξὺ καὶ ἀκούσαντα αἰῶσαι ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. τὸν δὲ φάναι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα χρὴ εἶναι τὰ βασιλικά αὐλήματα [...].

This passage is followed by this line:

*Sud.* ο 574 Adler: <Ὀρθιος νόμος:> ὁ κιθαρῳδικὸς τῆς ἀρμονίας. ἦσαν δὲ ἑπτὰ.

29 Valgulo translated two orations by Dio Chrysostom (*De Concordia* 38 and 39)—cf. note 1. The aulete mentioned above must be identified with Timotheus of Thebes: cf. Brussich 1995 and Bélis 2002. It seems unlikely to me that Valgulo knew the version of this event presented in Plutarch, *Alex. fort. aut virt.* 2.335a, where the aulete Antigenidas performs the νόμος ἀρμάτειος. The richer version reported by Basilios the Great in *De legendis Gentilium libris* 8.38-41 does not mention the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς.

30 *Sud.* α 1122, ο 573, τ 620 Adler.

It is possible that Valgulio developed his idea that one of the seven types of νόμος Ὀρθιος was the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς on the basis of this sequence. Of course, we cannot be sure that the original source of the byzantine lexicographer did not go in a completely different direction after this passage, for instance mentioning the seven parts (μέρη) of the *nomos* or the seven types of κιθαρωδικὸς νόμος. However, we can certainly argue that Valgulio's comments on the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς were based only on these two passages of the *Suda*, in the form and sequence that we have them.

Another piece of evidence may derive from the use of the verb *cano*, which describes Timotheus' performance. Even though this verb does not necessarily indicate a vocal piece, it is interesting to observe that, differently from the *Suda*, Valgulio does not characterise the performer as a player of wind instruments. The expression *cantum fidium* seems also to imply that the νόμος Ἀθηνᾶς performed by Timotheus was accompanied by a string instrument—a characterisation that corresponds well to the content of *Sud.* ο 574 Adler, where the Ὀρθιος νόμος is described as a citharodic piece. In the light of these observations, it seems very likely that Valgulio conflated these two entries of the *Suda*.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4 Music and Dance between Porphyry and Lucian

Soon after the middle of the text, we find a theoretical definition of the different components of music that is clearly drawn from a passage of Porphyry's *Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonica* (*In Ptol. Harm.* 1.1.5.21-24 Düring). In order to observe how Valgulio reinterpreted his source, let us read the two extracts side by side:

[a viv] Partes porro musicae sunt: harmonica, rhythmica, metrica, organica, poetica, saltatio. Haec est diuisio uniuersalis musicae; harum partium artifices omnes musici appellantur, sed poetae, et poetica per excellentiam.

Τὴν μουσικὴν σύμπασαν διαιρεῖν εἰώθασιν εἰς τε τὴν ἁρμονικὴν καλουμένην πραγματείαν, εἰς τε τὴν ῥυθμικὴν καὶ τὴν μετρικὴν, εἰς τε τὴν ὀργανικὴν καὶ τὴν ἰδίως κατ' ἐξοχὴν ποιητικὴν καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ταύτης ὑποκριτικὴν. μουσικοὶ γὰρ λέγονται πάντες οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τεχνῖται

31 We have some good reasons to believe that Valgulio had access to the *editio princeps* of the *Suda*: cf. Meriani 2015, §13.



The first sentence of Valgulo's text turns the original construction into a simple list, while the epanaleptic expression 'Haec est diuisio uniuersalis musicae' reflects the opening line 'Τὴν μουσικὴν σύμπασαν διαιρεῖν εἰώθασιν'. Moreover, he substitutes the Greek term ὑποκριτική (scil. πραγματεία) with the Latin *saltatio*. While the Greek term properly indicates the art of recitation as well as, more generally, various aspects of musical performances (e.g. movements of the voice and the body), the Latin term *saltatio* has a very specific meaning, 'dance'. This choice was probably determined by the need to establish a certain degree of continuity with the content of the passage immediately preceding this, which dealt with the different types of dance employed in tragedy and comedy (*emmelia*, *cordax*):

[a viv]: Sciendum enim est in tragoediis atque comoediis saltationes et choreas duci solitas esse proprias cuique, ut, quae *emmelia* dicitur, proprie erat tragoediae dicata, *cordax* uero comoediae. Erat autem *cordax* satyrica saltatio a Libero Patre instituta, India domita, ut auctor est Arrianus in rebus Alex(andri), quem nos in latinum sermonem uertimus. Tibicines fidicinesque illis cyclii dicti adhibebantur, cantusque accommodati metricis rhythmis.

In relation to the invention of *cordax*, Valgulo refers to a passage of Arrian's *Historia Indica* (7.8.3), which he translated into Latin before 1507.<sup>32</sup> We will return in a moment to his surprising statement on the presence of *tibicines fidicinesque cyclii dicti* in the performances of *emmelia* and *cordax*—a characterisation that is unattested in ancient sources. For now, we can observe that Valgulo's conviction that dance had a central role in ancient Greek musical practices probably derived from Lucian, an author that he mentions explicitly a few pages before, immediately after describing the general characteristics and contexts of ancient Greek musical performances:<sup>33</sup>

[a iiir] Sed ut summatim dicam, ut auctor est Lucianus, argumenta et materiae canticorum cantilenarumque erant ab orbe condito ad Cleopatrae usque tempora gestae res, quales Ouidius in Metamorphosi cecinit, ad quarum cantum ueteres etiam saltabant. Ex quo patet, neminem

32 Cf. Meriani 2015, §3.

33 On the 24th of January 1495, Valgulo borrowed from the Vatican library a 'parvum volumen Luciani in papyro et corio rubeo' and returned it on the 29th of the same month (cf. Bertòla 1942, 57). The *editio princeps* of Lucian's works, edited by Valgulo's friend Janus Lascaris, was published in 1496 by the publisher Lorenzo de Alopa.

exercere musicam saltationemue temporibus illis potuisse, quin eadem opera animum multa cognitione priscarum rerum completeret.

In this passage, Valgilio refers to chapter 37 of Lucian's *De saltatione*, where it is stated that a dancer must know and be able to represent in his art all the events that took place in history, starting from the primordial chaos and the origin of the universe down to Cleopatra's time. In other words, a dancer must have comprehensive knowledge of mythology:

ἡ δὲ πᾶσα τῷ ἔργῳ χορηγία ἡ παλαιὰ ἱστορία ἐστίν, ὡς προείπον, καὶ ἡ πρόχειρος αὐτῆς μνήμη τε καὶ μετ' εὐπρεπείας ἐπίδειξις· ἀπὸ γὰρ χάους εὐθὺς καὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἀρξάμενον χρὴ αὐτὸν ἅπαντα εἰδέναι ἄχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν. Τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ διαστήματι περιωρίσθω ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ πολυμαθία καὶ τὰ διὰ μέσου μάλιστα ἴστω.

The idea that the ancients danced while these events were sung seems to be Valgilio's personal interpretation of the text, given that songs are not explicitly mentioned by Lucian. Even so, the connection established between Lucian's text and Ovid is noteworthy and seems to suggest that Valgilio had in mind also chapter 57 of *De Saltatione*:

οὐκ ἀγνοήσει [*scil.* ὁ ὀρχηστής] δὲ καὶ τὰς μυθικὰς μεταμορφώσεις ἀπάσας, ὅσοι εἰς δένδρα ἢ θηρία ἢ ὄρνεα ἠλλάγησαν καὶ ὅσαι ἐκ γυναικῶν ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, τὸν Καινέα λέγει καὶ τὸν Τειρεσίαν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους.

Here it is stated that a dancer will not be ignorant of any of the mythical metamorphoses, such as the cases of Caenaeus and Tiresias. The first of these two stories occupies a significant portion of Book 12 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>34</sup> a fact that was well-known to Valgilio even though the Greek text does not mention it. In the light of these observations, we can hypothesise that Lucian's *De saltatione* was the source of Valgilio's remarks on the types of dances employed in Greek tragedies and comedies:

Chapter 22: [...] τριῶν γοῦν οὐσῶν τῶν γενικωτάτων ὀρχήσεων, κόρδακος καὶ σικιννίδος καὶ ἐμμελείας, οἱ Διονύσου θεράποντες οἱ Σάτυροι ταύτας ἐφευρόντες ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἐκάστην ὠνόμασαν, καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ὁ Διόνυσος, φασίν, Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ Λυδοὺς ἐχειρώσατο καὶ φύλον οὕτω μάχιμον τοῖς αὐτοῦ θιάσοις κατωρχήσατο [...] cap. 26: Δοκεῖς δέ μοι, ὅταν κωμῳδίαν καὶ

34 Ov. *Met.* 12.168-181, 12.459-535.

τραγωδίαν ἐπαινῆς, ἐπιλελῆσθαι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἑκατέρῃ ἐκείνων ὀρχήσεως ἴδιόν τι εἶδος ἐστίν, οἷον τραγικὴ μὲν ἢ ἐμμέλεια, κωμωδικὴ δὲ ὁ κόρδαξ, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τρίτης, σικιννίδος, προσλαμβανομένης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ προετίμησας τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὴν τραγωδίαν καὶ κωμωδίαν καὶ αὐλητὰς κυκλίους καὶ κιθαρωδίαν, ἐναγώνια ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σεμνὰ προσειπών, φέρε νῦν ἀντεξετάσωμεν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

Perhaps, on the basis of this passage, we can understand better also Valgulo's statement according to which *tibicines fidicinesque cyclii dicti* were employed in performances of *emmelia* and *cordax*. Although Lucian clearly distinguishes them, the textual proximity of these two topics may have led Valgulo to establish an otherwise unattested connection between the two.

In addition Valgulo translates the term ποιητική (*scil. πραγματεία*) with the Latin *poetica*, even though in Porphyry the term indicates the practice of musical composition<sup>35</sup> and has nothing to do with poetry. However, it is clear that Valgulo did not misunderstand the text, given that the term appears in the final sentence—*sed poetae et poetica per excellentiam*—where he tries to convey also Porphyry's expression κατ' ἐξοχήν. In conclusion, his lexical choices seem to derive from a personal reinterpretation of the original text.

It seems likely that precisely this passage is to be connected with the expression *musica poetica* that appears towards the end of the *Prooemium*, where Valgulo complained that Aristotle's views on the study and practice of music had been ignored for centuries:

[b iiv] At haec praeclara et erudita cognitio compluribus iam ante saeculis funditus exoleuit. Verum quoniam neque uirgula diuina in mentes ueterum ea scientia defluerat, sed inuentu humanorum ingeniorum extitit, tui muneris Tite atque officii fuerit, qui omnibus curis praeterquam disciplinarum percipiendarum uacuum es ac liber, omni studio eniti et elaborare, si ope partim mea adiutus, partim Plutarchi, ut poeticam musicam, excellentissimam et diuinissimam omnium, cum ista quae uulgo celebratur, pro tua uirili parte coniungas atque componas.

The ancient Greek concept of music embraced different disciplines and did not include only vocal and/or instrumental practices. Valgulo shows that he had understood its complex nature, underlining also the role of dance in this system, and aims at encouraging the dedicatee of his work to direct his

35 This usage is similar to Aristox. *El. Harm.* 1.2.6.2 Da Rios (Cf. Barker 1984, 126 note 4).

efforts toward a reform of contemporary musical practices in the light of such a global vision.

## 5 Conclusions

In conclusion, we can say that the *Prooemium* is a product of musicological erudition based on a direct knowledge of ancient sources—an extraordinary fact for a work written between the second half of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. Thanks to its circulation, a significant number of Latin translations of Greek text dealing with important theoretical, historical and aesthetical aspects of ancient musical practices became available for the first time; this benefited especially many contemporary music theorists who could not access the original texts directly, given the practical difficulties related to finding the manuscripts and the few existing editions, as well as the fact that many of them did not have the linguistic skills necessary to read the original versions.

Another equally relevant aspect of this text is that some of the ancient sources it employs are skilfully reworked, so that they could support the ‘idealised’ model of ancient Greek music that the author wanted to present to his contemporaries—an image that has been accepted and handed down for many decades.

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# Epicharmus and Aeschylus on Stage in Syracuse in the 5th Century

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## Abstract

New excavations give clear information about the Athenian Dionysus-Theatre of the 5th century B.C.; and the stage in Western Greece can now be reconstructed by analogy with it.

Vase paintings depict wooden theatres in Sicily from 400 B.C. onwards, mainly for comedy. Tragedies were performed only after 476/5 B.C., but the lively tradition of comedy since the late 6th century B.C. must have had a stage. For Epicharmus' short comedies, which had no lyrics or chorus and were addressed to the elite of Hieron's court, the small theatre carved into the slope of the Temenites rock was sufficient. But the performances of Aeschylus' *Aitnaiai* and *Persians* were politically motivated productions addressed to the whole Syracusan demos; they required a chorus, and space for large audiences. The form of the theatre and its wooden stage building, designed by Damokopos Myrilla, can be hypothetically reconstructed by analogy with their Athenian counterparts.

## Keywords

wooden theatres in Athens and Magna Graecia – evidence for stages in Sicily before 400 B.C. – stage of Epicharmus – Aeschylus in Syracuse – the architect Damokopos Myrilla

## 1 The Shape of the Early Theatre in Attica

With the new excavations in the Athenian Dionysus Theatre by Christina Papastamati-von Moock a controversial story of more than hundred years seems to be settled.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the stage used for dramatic productions in Western Greece can now be reconstructed by analogy with the early theatres in Attica, where the interplay of chorus and actor, namely the tragedy, unfolded.

In 1882 Wilhelm Dörpfeld took over the excavations in the theatre of Dionysus in Athens. His starting point was the new theatre building in stone, which was begun before 340 B.C. under Eubulus and finished under Lykurgus (338-324). Its centre is the circular *orchestra*, which is surrounded by the stone seats of the *theatron*, in the shape of a horseshoe,<sup>2</sup> and framed by the marble stage building, the *skene* (see figure 4).

Searching for evidence for the Dionysus theatre in the fifth and early fourth century Dörpfeld combined the remains of a curved polygonal wall of 4.235 m length of Acropolis limestone with other less convincing remains on the site, aiming at the reconstruction of a circular orchestra of 24 m diameter, the dancing place of the chorus,<sup>3</sup> for the early theatre. This conception, in spite of the severe criticism of Fiechter,<sup>4</sup> found its way into the handbooks. But soon, new evidence for an early rectilinear orchestra came to light.

Already in 1928, Walter Wrede and Karl Lehmann-Hartleben published remains of a rectilinear proedria,<sup>5</sup> seven slabs, which mark off seats about 0.70 m width by vertical strokes and letters or words in pre-Euclidian orthography: one of these slabs, obviously the seat of the priest of Dionysos, is marked by IEPE [ΟΣ]. As the slabs have anathyrosis, they are made for rectilinear alignment. With them were found three blocks with anathyrosis, which mark off by inscriptions, again in pre-Euclidian orthography, and by vertical strokes, seats of a width of 0.53 m for officials of the council of the five hundred: ΒΟΛΗΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΝ on one block and [ΥΠΗΡ]ΕΤΟΝ on another (see fig. 1). The pre-Euclidian orthography assigns to this proedria a date in the 5th century B.C. A reconstruction of this proedria was attempted by Dinsmoor, who disregarding the anathyrosis aligned the slabs around a polygon. Moretti aligned blocks and slabs to only one rectilinear row of proedria in stone, locating the blocks with

1 Papastamati (2007), (2012, forthcoming), (2014).

2 Dörpfeld (1896) plate II.

3 Dörpfeld (1896) 25-29, fig. 6, plate I.

4 Fiechter 5 (1935) 38-41; 84 f.; 87 f.; 6 (1936) 67 f.; 9 (1950) 23 f.

5 Bulle (1928) 55-60; 61-63; fig. 8-11, plate 6; plate 7. Descriptions in Pöhlmann (1981) 140-145, fig. 4-6; Moretti (1999-2000) 382-385.



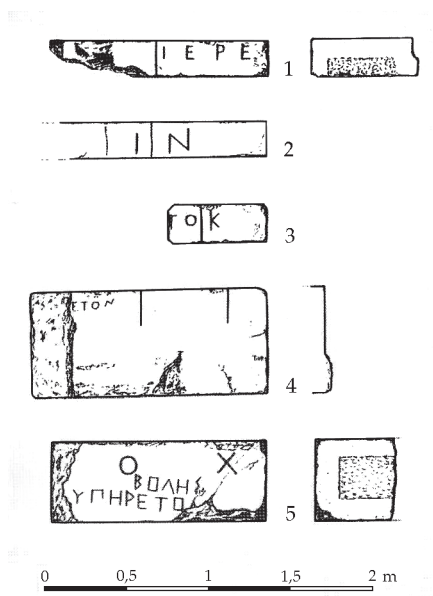


FIGURE 1 *Dionysus-Theatre, remains of rectilinear proedria, H.R. Goette 1995, p. 26, figure 10, after H. Bulle 1928.*

the seats for the officials at both ends and the larger ones for the dignitaries in the middle. For a slightly different view, see Papastamati.<sup>6</sup> This proedria marked off the upper end of a rectilinear orchestra. Above the stone proedria followed wooden benches, which constituted the *theatron* of the 5th century B.C.

The upper limit of the early *theatron* (see fig. 2) was found in an old excavation trench of Dörpfeld.<sup>7</sup> About ten meters above the aforesaid proedria (no. 5) there are rectilinear traces of a street (no. 7). There follow houses, two wells (no. 8) and another rectilinear street (no. 9). This means that the early *cavea* (no. 10) had an end before the street no. 7, which allowed entrance into the theatre from above. The *cavea* had two wings of which the eastern one described an oblique angle, which was respected later by the builders

6 Dinsmoor (1951) 328 f, fig. 3, Moretti (1999-2000) 388, Papastamati (2012, forthcoming) 24, n. 126 (References to pages of this forthcoming work are keyed to pages of the author's final typescript.).

7 Polacco (1990) 172, Goette (2007) 118-120, fig. 1 and 2; Dörpfeld (1896) 30 f, fig. 7.

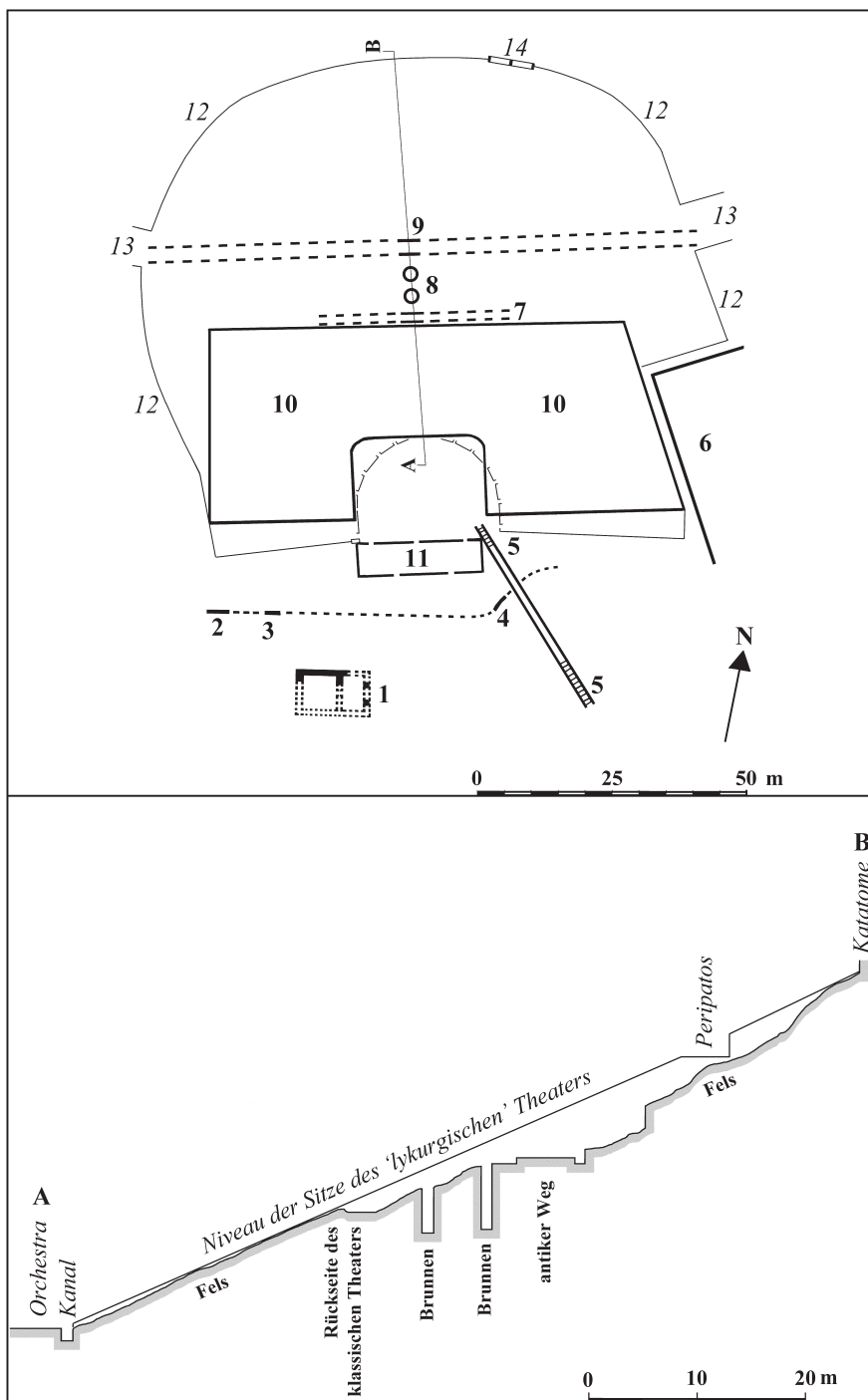


FIGURE 2 *Reconstruction of the Early Dionysus Theatre, H.R. Goette 2007, p. 117, figure 1, p. 119, figure 2.*

of the Periclean Odeon (no. 6) in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.<sup>8</sup> For the shape of the left wing of the early *cavea* there were no reliable arguments known. A wooden stage-building (no. 11) was indispensable, but there are no clues for it on the site.<sup>9</sup> Goette assumes<sup>10</sup> that the wooden theatre of Dionysus offered no more than 6000 seats for spectators.

Additional evidence for a rectilinear orchestra was provided by theatres in Ikarion,<sup>11</sup> Rhamnus,<sup>12</sup> Thorikos,<sup>13</sup> Argos,<sup>14</sup> Isthmia,<sup>15</sup> Chaironeia,<sup>16</sup> Euonymon,<sup>17</sup> Halimous and Kalydon.<sup>18</sup> Of special importance are the theatres in Thorikos and Euonymon, as they preserve *theatron*, *proedria* and rectilinear *orchestra* together. In Thorikos there are clues for an early stage building: Goette<sup>19</sup> had already pointed to two marble blocks with post holes, perhaps from a wooden stage building.

The management of the maintenance of the early Greek wooden theaters in Attica and the later stone theaters was reconstructed by a painstaking study of literary and epigraphic sources by Eric Csapo.<sup>20</sup> In the first period, which lasted until the middle of the 4th century B.C., there were private contractors (θεατροπόλοι or θεατρῶναι), who leased a theatre from the polis for a festival. By paying a lease they earned the right to collect all entrance fees for themselves. In return they took over the obligation to keep the stage building in good repair and to furnish the spectators' area with wooden seats, long planks on scaffoldings, the ἔκρια.

As soon as the temporary wooden *cavea* of a Greek theatre was replaced by a permanent one in stone, there was no more reason for such contracts.

8 Moretti (1999-2000) 385.

9 See Moretti (1999-2000) 395-398.

10 Goette (2007) 120.

11 Goette (1995) 10 f.: late 6th century B.C.

12 Goette (1995) 14 f.: 4th century B.C.

13 Already in Dörpfeld (1896) 109-111: 5th century B.C., expanded by 12 new ranks, capacity 6000 spectators. Description and figures in Pöhlmann (1995) 54 ff.

14 Ginouvès (1972): 5th Jh. 37 rectilinear steps carved in the rock. The lower part in the 2th Century AD superseded by a circular roman odeion.

15 E. Gebhard (1973): about 400 B.C.; later rebuildings.

16 Goette (1995) 19: late 5th century B.C.

17 Alexandri (1977); (1981); (1982); (1982 bis); (1983); (1999); (2007). First half of 4th century B.C.: rectilinear orchestra with proedria, last quarter of 4th century B.C.: addition of a skene building in stone. Description and figures in Pöhlmann (1995) 55 f.

18 Halimous: Goette (2014) 102 f., n. 12; Kalydon: Frederiksen (2014).

19 Goette (1995) 12 f.

20 Csapo, in Wilson (2007) 87-121.

Therefore, a new official appears, the ἀρχιτέκτων, who is elected and paid by the polis. His duty was the control of every building activity of the polis, including the maintenance of the stone theatres. The first evidence in Athens for the ἀρχιτέκτων μισθοφορῶν is an Athenian decree from 346 B.C.<sup>21</sup>

The spectacular excavations of Christina Papastamati have attested most of the older assumptions, while widening the horizon considerably. There is now evidence for a permanent wooden theatre which was used from the end of the 6th century B.C. until the beginning of the great Periclean building programme, which included the whole area for cult and performances from the Odeion (finished at 445 B.C.) to the Dionysus Theatre.<sup>22</sup> Post-holes of the *ikria*, the wooden substructure of the wooden benches, were found in the west section of the inside corner of the east parodos retaining wall,<sup>23</sup> and in the southwest inside corner of the west inner conglomerate retaining wall,<sup>24</sup> both belonging to the earlier wooden theatre. In the main area however, above the preserved rows no. 1-18 of the stone theatre, there was found later a large grid of post-holes, which might belong to the Periclean remodelling of the old wooden theatre.<sup>25</sup>

In the Dionysus area, foundations and inner walls were as a rule build of cheap conglomerate stone. This holds good for the inner retaining walls of the cavea and the parodos, the retaining walls behind the NW-edge of the Odeion, the stage building, the foundation T together with the wall H and the adjacent stoa and the new temple of Dionysus. There are isolated cases of the use of conglomerate in the 5th century B.C.<sup>26</sup> But for the beginning of the use of conglomerate stone in the Dionysus area there was no stratigraphic evidence.<sup>27</sup> Heinrich Bulle was inclined to assign the conglomerate walls to the 5th century B.C.,<sup>28</sup> while more recent research, relying on the untenable dating of the younger temple of Dionysus to the second half of the 4th century B.C. by Kalligas,<sup>29</sup> returned to Dörpfeld's view, assigning all conglomerate walls to the "Lycurgan" period.<sup>30</sup> But eventually, the running excavations have furnished evidence for a Periclean dating of the first conglomerate walls: in the

21 Csapo (2007) 108-113.

22 Papastamati (2012, forthcoming) 14-16.

23 Papastamati (2012, forthcoming), 11 f, fig. 6/7.

24 Papastamati (2012, forthcoming), 12 f., fig. 8; 10; 2014, p. 20-22. fig. 11.4.

25 Papastamati (2012, forthcoming), 22 f., fig. 1 f., 18, 19 nr. 3.

26 Temple of Nemesis in Rhamnus (about 450), Papastamati (2012, forthcoming, 7 nr. 33).

27 Papastamati (2014) 17 f.; (2012, forthcoming) 7 f.

28 Bulle (1928) 53-55, 73, 79-80.

29 Kalligas (1963), 14 f., Dontas (1960) 53 n.1 fig. 3.

30 Papastamati (2014) 18 f., (2012, forthcoming) 8 f.

foundation trenches of the inner western retaining walls the latest ceramic finds belong to the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.<sup>31</sup>

This gives a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of the remodelling of the earlier wooden theatre, which had to start at the western and eastern edges, as the Dionysiac festivals had to continue. After the death of Pericles (429 B.C.), the updating of the wooden theatre came to a standstill. The trapezoidal wooden cavea was furnished with the aforesaid rectilinear proedria in stone (see above p. 138 f.). Not before the consolidation of the finances of Athens by Eubulus<sup>32</sup> was the Periclean plan revived. The construction of a stone *theatron* was begun about 350 B.C.<sup>33</sup> In the marble stage-building there was found the foundation of the stage crane, the *mechane*.<sup>34</sup> With the permanent stage-building in stone Lykurgus finished the giant rebuilding of the theatre, which offered about 17000 seats in stone.<sup>35</sup>

Outside of Athens, the period of the wooden stage-building lasted longer, as we can see in vase-paintings like the Würzburg Apulian crater (see figure 5A).<sup>36</sup> But soon the Athenian prototype, the Lycurgan stone theatre, was repeated also outside Athens: the first follower was the new theatre in Epidaurus, which was under construction in 330/320 B.C.<sup>37</sup> The next follower is the theatre of Megalopolis, the dating of which was lowered by compelling arguments to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. by Hans Lauter.<sup>38</sup> The model of Athens's stone theatre was followed also by the late classical rebuilding of Troy, where a theatre with a circular orchestra and a proskenion is dated by an inscription to 306 B.C.<sup>39</sup> And perhaps we find the model of the Lycurgan Dionysus-Theatre again in the first stone theatre in Syracuse, built by Hieron II (269-215).

31 Papastamati (2012, forthcoming) 14 fig. 11; see also p. 12.

32 See Csapo and Wilson (2014).

33 Papastamati (2007) 295 n. 94, see also Papastamati (2014) 33-34.

34 Papastamati (2014) 63-72. For the construction of cranes see Lendle (1995).

35 Goette (2007).

36 Würzburg H 4696/4701, apulian crater, Konnakis-Gruppe. See also Louvre K 404 (L 112), campanian bell crater, 330-320.

37 Goette (1995) 32 f., Froning (2002) 53; epigraphical evidence for 330/320 B.C.

38 Lauter (2004) 158 f.

39 Goette (1995) 32.

## 2 The Shape of the Early Theatre in Sicily

As we have seen, the shape of the early theatre in Attica was defined by a rectangular or trapezoidal orchestra, which was surrounded on three sides by wooden seat planks on wooden substructures, the ἔκρια. The orchestra of the early theatre was framed by a wooden stage building. Stone theatre architecture began no earlier than the middle of the 4th century B.C. with the so called Lycurgan Theatre in Athens. Similar developments have been observed in Greek Sicily. As Clemente Marconi has demonstrated, stone theatres with their concomitants, the circular orchestra, the surrounding horse-shoe of the κοιλὸν and the stone skene building do not appear in Sicily earlier than the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.,<sup>40</sup> just as in Attica.

Vase-pictures related to comedy from 400 to 325 B.C. attest earlier wooden theatres in Western Greece also. There are about 250 such pieces, from which Oliver Taplin singled out about 100 examples which show witty scenes from daily life or parodies of serious myth,<sup>41</sup> thus matching with the themes of Middle Comedy, but very few scenes of Old Comedy.<sup>42</sup>

About 44 of these comic vase-pictures depict a wooden stage. (see figure 5B). the elements of which were described by Alan Hughes:<sup>43</sup> There appear wooden platforms which might have a width of 6 to 7.30 metres, supported by two to five posts. The platform is accessible on some vases from the front by a stair of six to eight steps, which yields a height for the platform of 1 to 1.80 metres. On the platform, there may be assembled up to four actors. From the back, the platform was accessible also by a double door, which is as a rule placed at the left side, but in some cases on the right side of the platform.<sup>44</sup> This implies that the wooden stage had a double door on each side, of which only one was depicted on the vases, according to the focussing of the action. On several vases, the door was sheltered by a porch. Sometimes, a roof is indicated, under which windows may appear.

Of course, Athenian tragedy, spread to the West by travelling players since about 400 B.C., was performed on the same stage as comedy.<sup>45</sup> But the overwhelming majority of about 300 vase-pictures related to tragedy between

40 Marconi (2012) 189.

41 Taplin (1993) 32-36.

42 Taplin (1993) 36-47.

43 Hughes (1996); see also Green (2012).

44 Hughes (1996) plate 4; 12; Green (2012) fig. 14.5; 14.8.

45 Taplin (2012).

400 and 310 B.C. do not depict the wooden stage. Obviously, these vase painters wanted to tell the tragic stories as such, and not their performance on stage.<sup>46</sup>

Only exceptionally do tragic scenes appear on the wooden stage.<sup>47</sup> The most impressive exception is a sherd of about 400 B.C. found in Syracuse (see figure 6), which depicts a crucial scene from Sophocles' *Oedipus* (1042-1054): on a platform on posts before a roofed background supported by columns appear (from left to right) the messenger, Oedipus and his wife Iocaste, who is the first to grasp the horrible truth.<sup>48</sup> In front of Oedipus are Antigone and Ismene (not indicated by the text).

Before 400 B.C., the evidence for a stage for tragedy in Sicily is meagre. This is to be expected, as tragedy with its special spatial requirements for the chorus is a late import in Sicily, which was not initiated earlier than by the commission of the *Aitnaiai* to Aeschylus after 476/5 B.C. by Hieron I.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, there was in Sicily already in the late 6th century B.C. a lively tradition of indigenous native comedy culminating in the comedies of Epicharmus, for which some kind of stage has to be found.<sup>50</sup>

### 3 Epicharmus

There are testimonies for a *floruit* of Epicharmus in 486/5 B.C. or 485/4 B.C. (*PCG* I T 1) or 488/87 B.C. (*PCG* I T 6). Epicharmus performed his comedies in Syracuse (*PCG* I T 1). As he performed a parody of Aeschylus' *Persians* (*PCG* I T 35,4; F 110/111) and joked about Aeschylus' language (*PCG* I F 221), he must have met the latter after the staging of a tragedy *Persians* in Syracuse, after (or before) 472 B.C.<sup>51</sup> He had close connections with the court of Hieron I (*PCG* I T 14/15), like Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar. His fragments are devoid of the gross obscenities and of personal and political invective which were typical of the Old Comedy in Athens. Sometimes there are passages of panegyric: Epicharmus praised Hieron for saving Locri from the menaces

46 Taplin (2007) 26-28.

47 Hughes (1996) 105 f., Taplin (2007) nr. 22, p. 90-92; nr. 45, p. 143-145; nr. 88, p. 228; nr. 103, p. 257 f.; nr. 105, p. 261 f.; nr. 106, p. 263; nr. 107, p. 264. For single elements of staging see Taplin (2007) 37-41.

48 Taplin (2007) nr. 22.

49 Kossatz-Deissmann (1978), Taplin (2012).

50 See the summary in Olson (2007) 6-11.

51 Bosher (2012) favours the first night of the *Persians* in Sicily, and a re-staging in Athens at 472 B.C.



of Anaxilaus, tyrant of Rhegium between 478/7 and 476/5 B.C. (PCG I F 96). Epicharmus' preferred theme was the parody of mythical figures or mockeries about everyday characters.<sup>52</sup> The fragments are full of spirited jokes and witty asides. As allusions show, the audience of Epicharmus was well read in earlier poetry, especially in Homer.<sup>53</sup> All in all, the comedies of Epicharmus had a highbrow public as their addressee, the elite of the court, not the demos of Syracuse.

We know Epicharmus' comedies only as fragments from quotations and some papyri. The length of the fragments varies as a rule between 1 and 10 stichoi, while only five are longer.<sup>54</sup> Fragment 113 (Pyrrha and Prometheus), consisting of many different papyrus scraps in the same handwriting, amounts to 513 lines, which however include parts of other comedies.<sup>55</sup> The fragments are restricted to spoken verse: we find iambic trimeters, trochaic tetrameters, anapaestic tetrameters and some hexameters.<sup>56</sup> Except for some plural titles like Ἀταλάνται or Βάχχαι and the solitary F 100 (anapaestic dimeters) there are no hints that would point to a chorus.<sup>57</sup>

There are 239 authentic fragments and 47 titles of Epicharmus.<sup>58</sup> Apollodoros (II B.C.) brought together an edition of Epicharmus in ten papyrus scrolls.<sup>59</sup> Considering the average length of a papyrus scroll<sup>60</sup> there might have been four to five comedies in a single scroll. This means that Epicharmus' comedies were quite short, not longer than 300 to 400 stichoi, which is understandable as there were no lyrics and of course no chorus. In the shorter fragments monologues prevail. But in the longer quotations dialogue scenes are not lacking.<sup>61</sup> Three actors on the stage might appear in the Amykus, namely Castor, Pollux and Amykus.<sup>62</sup> These modest demands on staging could be fulfilled by a wooden stage with parodoi on both sides in front of a rectilinear *theatron*. Fortunately, the place of Epicharmus' stage in Syracuse can be guessed (see fig. 3).

52 Olson (2007) 8. Hexameters: PCG I F 113, F 415 (parody of Homer); F 121, F 224.

53 Olson (2007) 9.

54 PCG I F 32: 15 lines; F 40: 11 lines; F 97: 16 lines; F 98: 21 lines; F 113: 513 lines.

55 PCG I p. 91: *nonnulla ad alias fabulas pertinere possunt*. Vid. ad 88 (Σφίγξ) et 232.323.436 (Κωμάσται ἢ Ἀφαιστος).

56 Olson (2007) 7.

57 Olson (2007) 9.

58 For Epicharmus are attested 52, or 35, or 40 comedies (PCG I T 1; 6). We have 47 titles (PCG I p. 339/40).

59 PCG I T 34.

60 See Pöhlmann (1994) 87-89: in the case of poetry between 500 and 1500 stichoi.

61 PCG I F 76, F 97, F 113, F 122, F 123, F 146, F 147.

62 PCG I F 6.

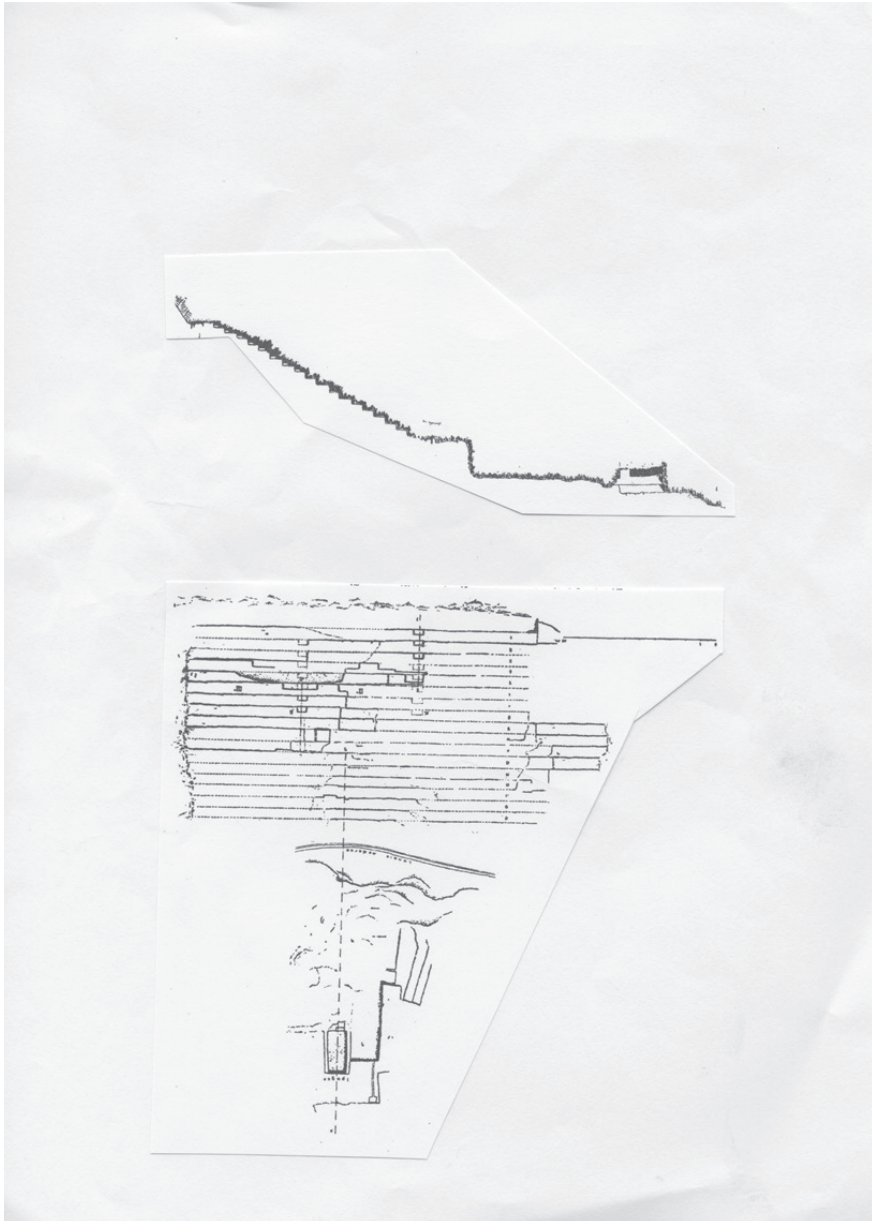


FIGURE 3 *Plan of rectilinear Temenites theatre, after G.V. Gentili 1952, Tav. I.*

#### 4 A Rectilinear Theatre in Syracuse

About 100 m to the west of the Great theatre of Hieron II (\*307; 269-215), on a rocky terrace, the southern boundary of the precinct of Apollon Temenites, Gino Vinicio Gentili<sup>63</sup> observed a rectilinear theatre. It consists of 17 rows of seats of 0.35 m height, carved in the natural rock, which has an inclination of about 30 % (see figure 7A). The theatre is divided into three parts by two stairs with steps of 0.17 to 0.20 m height. The length of the seat rows varies from 23 m to 27.50 m. Thus, the theatre might have given space for about 1100 spectators. Gentili proposed a date at the end of the 6th or the first quarter of the 5th century B.C., lowered by René Ginouvès to the 5th century B.C.<sup>64</sup>

Similar theatres carved out of the natural rock are preserved in central Greece also: in Argos a 5th century rectilinear theatre<sup>65</sup> was later equipped in its lower part with curved seats for a Roman odeon (see figure 7B). In Chaironeia there are 17 rows of seats of a 5th century rectilinear theatre divided into three horizontal sections (see figure 8A).<sup>66</sup>

The Syracusan Temenites theatre ends with a high step without seats (see figure 8B), at the bottom of which there is a modern panoramic street, which has destroyed the historical surface. Thus it is impossible to find remains of a retaining wall of an orchestra, for which Gentili proposed to search by excavations.<sup>67</sup> Anyhow, there was enough room for a wooden theatre, a platform on posts, with parodoi from both sides. Thus, we might consider with Gentili that this small rectilinear theatre was used by a privileged class, the elite of the court of Hieron I, for performances of the comedies of Epicharmus and kindred pieces.<sup>68</sup>

#### 5 Aeschylus in Syracuse

The history of tragedy in Sicily begins later: Hieron I, the tyrant of Syracuse 478-466/5, had founded in 476/5 his new town Aitne, by deportations of the Chalcidian population from Naxos and Catania, and by repopulation with

63 Gentili (1952).

64 Gentili (1952) 127; Ginouvès (1972) 61 f. See also Moretti (1993) 83.

65 Ginouvès (1972).

66 Froning (2002) 37.

67 Gentili (1952) 127.

68 Gentili (1952) 128).

Dorian settlers.<sup>69</sup> After that, there came the court poets' turn: Pindar praised the new town in the ninth Nemean (1-3; 474 B.C.), in the first Pythian (60-65; 470 B.C.) and by an encomium (fr. 20 C 7; after 476 B.C.) And Aeschylus visited Syracuse in order to stage his *Αἰτναίαι*, in which play he foretold a blessed future for the new inhabitants of Aitne (*TrGF* III T 1,9). We must infer from the circumstances that Hieron ordered this particular tragedy in order to highlight his fame as the founder of a new city.

As many sources tell,<sup>70</sup> Aeschylus hellenized in the *Aitnaiai* the autochthonous Sicilian cult of the Palikoi<sup>71</sup> by inventing for them an aetiological myth: the nymph Thalia, who was living at the river Symaithos, was abducted by Zeus in the shape of a vulture and raped. Because of fear of the jealousy of Hera she was hidden by Zeus in the womb of the earth, where she gave birth to two boys. When grown up, the twins emerged from the underworld in the hot fountains of a caldera near Leontinoi: *duo infantes de albo Thaliae progressi emerсерunt appellatique sunt Palici* ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἰκέσθαι (Macrobius *Saturn.* 5,19,17). This hair-rising etymology is expanded in the only longer fragment (F 6) where two gods (perhaps Demeter and Kore) are wondering about the name which mortals (βροτοί) might find for the expected demons:

[Kore]: What name shall the mortals give to them?

[Demeter]: By command of Zeus they must be called the holy Paliki.

[Kore]: And is the designation as Paliki legitimate?

[Demeter]: Yes, for they come back (πάλιν ἰκέσθαι) from the darkness to the light.

Three more fragments give only single words (F 8-10). The ascription of two long fragments to the *Aitnaiai* by Eduard Fraenkel (*TrGF* III F 283; 451 n, a speech of Dike) remains doubtful.<sup>72</sup> There is an interesting summary on papyrus, which declares that the setting of the first part (μέρος) of the *Aitnaiai* is Aitne, of the second Xouthia, of the third again Aitne, and then Leontinoi, and of the fourth part Syracuse.<sup>73</sup> There were two versions of the *Aitnaiai* (*TrGF* T 78, 1d). The plural title points, as it is natural for Aeschylus, to a chorus. The piece was widely known in western Greece, as vase pictures show.<sup>74</sup>

69 Diodor 11,49; Smith (2012) 130-133.

70 *TrGF* III 6 and notes.

71 *TrGF* III 7: Παλίκη: πόλις Σικελίας... πλησίον δὲ αὐτῆς ἱερὸν Παλικῶν, οἳ εἰσι δαίμονες τινες.

72 Fraenkel (1954); see Taplin (1977) 418.

73 *TrGF* III p 126 f.: P.OXY 2257.

74 See Kossatz—Deissmann (1978).

The problems of staging the *Aitnaiai*<sup>75</sup> will be treated after some words about Aeschylus' *Persians* in Syracuse.

The *Persians* which are transmitted to us was performed in Athens in 473/2 B.C. as part of an unconnected Tetralogy, namely *Phineus*, *Persians*, *Glaukos Potnieus*, *Prometheus Pyrkaeus*, which won the first prize (*TrGF* III T 55a). According to the *vita* Aeschylus restaged this version of *Persians* in Syracuse at the request of Hieron (φασὶ ὑπὸ Ἱέρωνος ἀξιωθέντα ἀναδιδᾶσαι: *TrGF* III T 1, 68 f.), which means later than 472 B.C.

But there are diverging traditions about a different version of the *Persians*. The *scholia* to Aristophanes *Frogs* (405 B.C.; *TrGF* III 56a 1-3) point to the fact that *Frogs* 1028 f. (*TrGF* III 120) attest for the *Persians* a report about the death of king Darius and the corresponding reaction of the chorus, two passages which are lacking in the transmitted text of the *Persians*.<sup>76</sup> Didymus (1st century B.C.) infers from this that there were two versions of the *Persians*, one of which was lost (*TrGF* III 56b).

According to Herodicus (II B.C.; *TrGF* III 56a 3-4) the content of this lost version was the battle of Plataeae (479 B.C.), not of Salamis (480 B.C.). Eratosthenes (276-196 B.C.) informs us that this lost version of the *Persai* was performed at the request of Hieron in Syracuse (δοκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου δεδιδᾶσθαι ἐν Συρακούσαις σπουδάζαντος Ἱέρωνος: *TrGF* III 56a 5-6).

Thus, there remain two possibilities for *Persians* in Syracuse. According to the *vita* the transmitted *Persians* about the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) was restaged (ἀναδιδᾶσαι) in Syracuse after 473/2. But according to Herodicus and Eratosthenes a lost tragedy with the title *Persians* about the battle of Plataeae (479 B.C.) had its first night (δεδιδᾶσθαι) in Syracuse. This performance could have antedated 473/2 B.C., the first night of *Persians* in Athens. In both cases, the request of Hieron is presupposed.

Eratosthenes, the director of the Ptolemaic library in Alexandria (about 246-181 B.C.) is the first and the most important of our authorities. His information about *Persians* is derived from the third book of his *Περὶ Κωμωδιῶν*.<sup>77</sup> The battle of Plataeae as the content of the Syracusan *Persians*, which is attested by Herodicus,<sup>78</sup> might be derived from Eratosthenes also. At any rate, the

75 See Taplin (2012) 240-246.

76 This does not make sense, as Darius died already in 485 B.C. Moreover, ἦκουσα in *Frogs* 1028 is unmetrical. Dover (1993) 320/21 proposes a correction, which brings the two lines of *Frogs* to an agreement with the appearance of the ghost of dead Darius in the *Persians* (681-851).

77 Pfeiffer (1978) 200-203.

78 See Gudemann (1912) 978.

possibility of *Persians* about Plataeae in Syracuse before *Persians* about Salamis in Athens (473/72) should not be underrated. In the first Pythian (470 B.C.) Pindar celebrates Hieron by mentioning the battles of Salamis and Plataeae side by side, as we shall see.

At the end of his life, Aeschylus left Athens and installed himself in Gela, where he died in 456/55 (*TrGF* III 3). Thus, there might have been three visits of Aeschylus to Syracuse: the first for the staging of the *Aitnaiai* after 476/5 B.C., the second, according to the *vita*, for the restaging of *Persians* in Syracuse after 473/2, and the third some years before his death. But a first night of *Persians* before 473/2 about the battle of Plataeae in Syracuse, according to Eratosthenes, would open the way for the staging of both tragedies, *Aitnaiai* and *Persians*, during the same visit of Aeschylus between 476/5 and 473/2.<sup>79</sup>

## 6 Staging of Aeschylus in Syracuse

The title *The Women of Aitne* attests for the *Aitnaiai* a chorus, as we have it in the transmitted *Persians*, and we must infer it for a hypothetical lost version of *Persians* for Syracuse also. This circumstance by itself is sufficient to exclude the rectilinear theatre in the Temenites sanctuary, which was quite appropriate for the chorusless comedies of Epicharmus. But every chorus of Aeschylus needs a spacious orchestra, for which there was no room at the bottom of the Epicharmus theatre (see figure 8b). A similar clue points in the same direction: *Aitnaiai* and *Persians* in Syracuse were ordered by Hieron for obvious political reasons. The *Aitnaiai* had to celebrate Hieron as the founder of a town, the ἡρώς κτίστης of Aitne. And *Persians* in Syracuse aimed at inserting Hieron into the phalanx of the defenders of Greece against barbarians in the West (Carthaginians and Etruscans) and East (*Persians*).<sup>80</sup> Pindar, in the first Pythian (470 B.C.), succeeded in flattering Hieron and his son Deinomenes, the designated tyrant of Aitne, by celebrating the Greek victories of Cyme (474 B.C.), Salamis, (480 B.C.), Plataeae (479 B.C.) and Himera (480 B.C.) in ten lines:

I ask you, Cronion, grant us that the Carthaginians and the battle-shout of the Thyrsenians keep at home in peace and quiet, having seen their insolence shipwrecked before Cyme, which they suffered, subdued by the

79 Boshier (2012) 98 gives the *Persians* about the battle of Salamis its first night before 473/72 in Syracuse, thus mixing up the conflicting traditions.

80 See the summary in Boshier (2012) 97-99; 105-108.

ruler of Syracuse, who drowned from their speedy ships their youthful strength, thus preserving Greece from heavy servitude.

From Salamis I shall try to get for my reward the favour of the Athenians. In Sparta I shall praise the battle at the Cithaeron, by which the Persians with their crooked bows perished. At the estuary of the Himeras with its lovely waters I shall accomplish my song for the sons of Deinomenes, which they have earned by their bravery, subduing hostile enemies (*Pyth.* 1.71-80).

Simonides joined his rival Pindar in celebrating the battle of Plataeae in an elegy.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps Hieron's victory over the Etruscans at Cyme (474/3 B.C.) was appropriately mentioned somewhere by Aeschylus also. Herodotus still draws on this panhellenic perspective when reporting that the victory of Gelon of Syracuse and Theron of Acragas over the Carthaginian general Hamilcar at Himera and the victory of the Greeks over the Persians at Salamis happened on the same day of 480 B.C. (VII 166).

Tragedies with such political implications of course had as addressees the great public, the demos. Again, the small Epicharmus theatre with its 1100 seats is ruled out. A suitable place for political demonstrations like *Aitnaiai* and *Persians* in Syracuse might have been the natural slope of the Temenites cliff, which houses today the remains of the great Hellenistic theatre built under Hieron II (269-215 B.C.), which had about 15000 seats (see figure 9A).

Traces of a rectilinear theatre were presumed by Carlo Anti, who interpreted a trapezoidal draining channel in the north of the orchestra as remains of a trapezoidal theatre of the 5th century B.C.,<sup>82</sup> which had the same shape as the Athenian theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus before Lycurgus (see figure 4). But Bernabò Brea, soprintendente of Syracuse in 1941-1973 and collaborator of the excavations in the theatre, insisted on the fact that the trapezoidal drain cuts two circular drains, of which the inner one is the drain of the theatre of 238-216, the outer one the drain of a revision of the orchestra in imperial times. Thus he dates the trapezoidal drain to late imperial times.<sup>83</sup> But Anti, together with Luigi Polacco, repeated his untenable opinions in a monograph in 1981,<sup>84</sup> which was severely criticised from many sides.<sup>85</sup>

81 West (1992) vol. II, fr. II.

82 Anti (1947) 85-106.

83 Brea (1967) 147/8.

84 Anti/Polacco (1981) 105-124.

85 See the review of Mertens (1981) and the survey of research by Moretti (1993) 83-86.



Today, it seems tacitly admitted that the remains of the Great Theatre (except for the later interventions) belong to Hieron II, who signed his giant enterprise by inscriptions on the back wall of the first diazoma, which show besides his name the names of his wife Philistis and his daughter in law Nereis (see figure 9B). Of course this does not exclude the possibility that the natural slope of the Temenites cliff was used already in the 5th century B.C. for theatrical performances.

Giuseppe Voza, successor of Bernabò Brea (1973-2009), started excavations in the eighties on the top of the Temenites cliff (see figure 10A).<sup>86</sup> He discovered the foundations of an archaic temple of Apollo Temenites. The temple was replaced after 500 B.C. by two monumental tombs which formed a mausoleum, perhaps of Gelon and his wife Demarete, which was destroyed by the Carthaginian general Himilco in 397 B.C. The sanctuary was accessible from the south by a staircase. (see figure 10B). Following the orientation of the natural slope of the Temenites cliff the sanctuary was also oriented from north to south. Thus a connection was provided, from the beginning, between a sanctuary and a place suited for performances of all kinds. The space reserved for spectators was delimited by a first retaining wall of which remains are preserved.<sup>87</sup> At present we don't know how this space was prepared for the needs of the public before the giant intervention of Hieron II. But there are some literary hints at a theatre in Syracuse in the time of Dionysius I and Timoleon.<sup>88</sup> The most interesting and most dubious passage is a report (Sophron Fr. 123) about the architect of a theatre in the 5th century in Syracuse,<sup>89</sup> which needs some philological comment.

Eustathius (XII AD), wishing to explain male nouns with the ending -a like *ἱππότα* quotes examples provided by the grammarian Eudaimon of Pelusion (IV AD), among which is the following: 'the Syracusan's name Myrilla, which he (i.e. Eudaimon) says Sophron mentions. Eudaimon relates that this Syracusan's real name was Demokopos; he was an architect, and was called Myrilla because when he finished building the theatre he distributed myrrh to his fellow-citizens (namely the Syracusans)'.<sup>90</sup> This interpretation of a passage of Sophron

86 Voza (2006) 77-79; (2009) 5.

87 Voza (2006) 77-79.

88 Voza (2009) 7 f.; Diodorus 13,94; Plutarch, *vita* of Timoleon.

89 PCG I F 123; Hordern (2004) 103 f.; 188.

90 Παράγει δέ... καὶ Συρακούσιον ὄνομα τὸ Μύριλλα. οὗ μνησθῆναι λέγει τὸν Σώφρονα, ἱστορῶν καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Συρακούσιου τούτου (τὸ) κύριον Δημόκοπος ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τελεσιουργήσας τὸ θέατρον μύρον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις διένειμε, Μύριλλα ἐπεκλήθη (translation Hordern 2004, 103).

by Eudaimon, who is unknown to us, cannot be correct.<sup>91</sup> Myrilla is not a nickname, but is attested by inscriptions as a proper name.<sup>92</sup> And Demokopos is no proper name, but is attested as a synonym for demagogue (LSJ s.v.). Thus, Sophron, after cheap jokes about Myrilla's proper name, might have slandered him as a demagogue.

However, there remains some hard evidence provided by Sophron Fr. 123: there was a Syracusan architect Myrilla known to Sophron, who constructed a theatre in Syracuse. He might have been working in the time of Hieron I.<sup>93</sup> Thus, this theatre must have allowed the staging of Aeschylus' *Aitnaiai* and *Persians* in front of many thousands of spectators, as we have seen. Therefore only the natural slope of the Temenites cliff could offer the necessary space. Of course we don't know if Myrilla provided seats for the spectators. But in any case he must have erected a wooden stage building framing a spacious orchestra for the Aeschylean chorus. Perhaps he had studied the contemporary early wooden Dionysus Theatre in Athens. His wooden stage building in Syracuse might have provided for roof-scenes, as we shall see.

The transmitted *Persians* includes an impressive passage, at the beginning of which the dead king Darius appears on the top of his tomb (681-842). He is informed by the chorus and Atossa about the fate of the Persian fleet at Salamis, he severely condemns his son Xerxes, foretells the defeat of Mardonius at Plataeae (807-820), and sinks again into the underworld. Oliver Taplin has discussed the staging of this passage thoroughly.<sup>94</sup> It is interesting that Darius assigns the credit for the future Greek victory at Plataeae to the Dorians (*Persians* 817: πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο). If there was, according to Eratosthenes, a Syracusan version of *Persians* which dealt with the battle of Plataeae instead of Salamis, it might have included a scene with the dead Darius on the top of his tomb also, of course with the necessary adjustment to the new dramatic situation in 479 B.C.

The late Kathryn Boshier, when arguing for a first night of the transmitted *Persians* in Syracuse, has considered the possibilities of a subterranean entrance for the ghost of Darius by means of the so-called Charonian steps (χαρώνιοι κλίμακες).<sup>95</sup> Indeed, there are "Charonian steps" in the theatre in Syracuse,

91 See Fabricius (1903).

92 Delos: I B.C.: Fraser-Matthews I (1987) s.v.; Acarnania: III/II B.C., Fraser-Matthews IIIA (1997) s.v.

93 See Hordern (2004) 2-4 about the debated date of Sophron.

94 Taplin (1977) 116-118; 416/418 (about the staging of *Aitnaiai*); 447-449 (about χαρώνιοι κλίμακες).

95 Boshier (2012) 103-105.

leading from the stage building to the middle of the orchestra (see figure 9A). This subterranean corridor however is dated by Bernabò Brea to Roman times.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, in the Dionysus Theatre in Athens there are no traces of a similar subterranean entrance from the stage building into the orchestra.<sup>97</sup> Thus, for *Persians* in Athens and in Syracuse, a subterranean entrance for the ghost of Darius is to be excluded. The easiest way to stage this passage is to replace it by a roof-scene.

Oliver Taplin, when collecting all possible subterranean entries in ancient drama, has mentioned the *Aitnaiai* among them.<sup>98</sup> And Kathryn Bosher has pointed to the fact that with the *Persai* and the *Aitnaiai* there were two Aeschylean tragedies with apparitions from the underworld.<sup>99</sup> But the last line of F 6, *πάλιν γὰρ ἵκουσ' ἐκ σκότους τόδ' εἰς φάος*, looks more like a foretelling of the appearance of the twins, which could have been staged by a roof scene also. If this happened at the end of one of the four acts of the *Aitnaiai*, one of the twins (the other was a mute) could have proclaimed the good wishes for the new town which the *vita* mentions (10: οἰωνίζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν). But this is perhaps wishful thinking.

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96 Brea (1967) 127.

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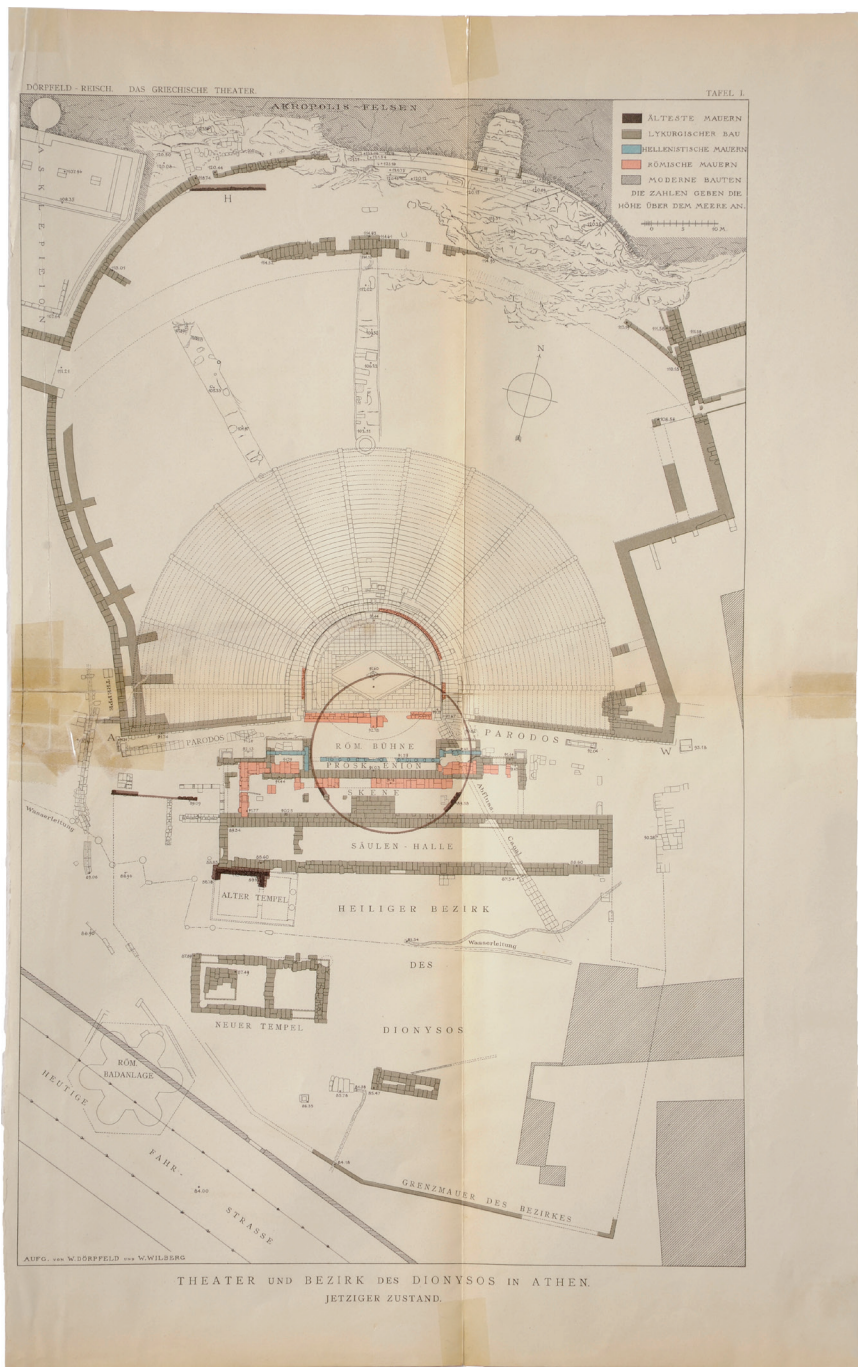


FIGURE 4 *Dionysus-Theatre in Athens, W. Dörpfeld 1896, Taf. I.*





FIGURE 5A Würzburg H 4696/4701, Apulian crater, 360-50, photo H.R. Goette.



FIGURE 5B Naples, Choregoi, Apulian bell-crater, 400-380, (formerly New York, Fleischmann collection F 93), photo H.R. Goette.



FIGURE 6 *Museo Archeologico regionale "Paolo Orsi" Siracusa 66557, su concessione dell' Assessorato Beni Culturali della regione Siciliana. Divieto di riproduzione con ogni mezzo e modo.*





FIGURE 7A *Rectilinear theatre in the sanctuary of Apollon Temenites in Syracuse, photo E. Poehlmann.*



FIGURE 7B *Rectilinear theatre in Argos, photo U. Kreiling.*



FIGURE 8A *Rectilinear theatre in Chaironeia, <http://www.theatrum.de/382.html>, photo K. Böhne.*



FIGURE 8B *Bottom of rectilinear Temenites theatre, photo E. Poehlmann.*





FIGURE 9A *Theatre of Hieron II in Syracuse, with kind permission of G. Voza 2009, figure 1.*



FIGURE 9B *Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ, photo E. Poehlmann.*





FIGURE 10A *Top of Temenites cliff; archaic temple, tombs, with kind permission of G. Voza 2009, figure 4.*





FIGURE 10B *Staircase between theatre and sanctuary in Syracuse, photo E. Poehlmann.*





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## Book Reviews

Petrucchi, F.

*Teone di Smirne: Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem*

*utilium. Introduzione, Traduzione, Commento* (Studies in Ancient Philosophy 11)

St. Augustin, Academia Verlag. 2012, 609 pp. Pr. 44.50 euros ISBN 9783896655509

Theon of Smyrna's *Expositio*, written in the second century CE, is a very important document for both ancient philosophers and historians of the ancient sciences. As his title indicates, Theon provides an account of the mathematical disciplines (arithmetic, music and astronomy) which a reader ought to know in order to understand Platonic doctrine. He quotes from several of Plato's dialogues, including the *Republic* and the *Epinomis*, and complements them with the opinions of various authorities, ranging from the Pythagoreans to Adrastus, to Eratosthenes. Petrucchi believes that the text as we have it is by and large complete, and that it does not lack a section on geometry and/or stereometry (37-40). The section on arithmetic explains the notion of unit and some qualities of numbers, including odd and even, up to, with increasing levels of complexity, the so-called polygonal and perfect numbers. The emphasis is on taxonomy of quantity, and on a firm grasp of the notion of monad/unity which proves to be central to Platonism throughout antiquity. The section on music equally combines definitions and a taxonomy of ratios, with more extended discussions of the cosmological significance of harmony, but also arguments based on what we could call empirical or experiential evidence. For instance, Theon writes: "Not even in the case of the same sound [...] could we reproduce the same continuity of sound, but there must necessarily be some difference which will not be perceived by our hearing. For you cannot strike an object twice in the same identical way, nor can you pluck the same string twice in the same way, but only a bit more strongly or a bit more weakly, nor similarly can you plunge yourself twice in the same liquid, nor can someone who puts their finger in ink, honey or tar, get every time the same quantity. Nevertheless, the tone that can be grasped by the intellect can be conceived of as divided into two equal parts" (228-9). Finally, in the section on astronomy Theon endeavours to merge the cosmological model found in the *Timaeus* with the planetary anomalies, well-known by his time, which led to the formulation of, for instance, epicycles.

Indeed, according to Petrucci (esp. 59-61), Theon's overall aim is to make it clear that the philosophy of Plato, and in particular his cosmology, are compatible with what one could call a scientific view of the world, as articulated by means of the mathematical disciplines. In fact, if interpreted and explained correctly, Plato's works are not simply compatible, but adumbrate and provide a fuller philosophical and ethical framework for the knowledge of the universe as provided by the mathematical disciplines.

The *Expositio* is still a relatively obscure work; the Greek text has been edited before, but, in Petrucci's view, in a not entirely satisfactory way, and the extant translations into modern languages, based as they are on those editions, are themselves in need of revision. Petrucci's volume thus offers a new Italian translation, and a very extensive and carefully researched introduction and commentary.

In some respects, Petrucci has provided a landmark contribution to the study of Theon. Particularly valuable, for instance, is his fine-grained analysis of Theon as an author, rather than just a compiler of other people's opinions. In line with current historiography of the genre of 'deuteronomic literature', Petrucci underlines the occasions where Theon, while ostensibly citing Plato's text, intervenes on it or reworks it in subtle ways, which collectively are meant to smooth over possible incompatibilities between Platonic theories and more recent developments in astronomy or musical theory (e.g. 63-5, 67-8; see also Appendix 2). To use Petrucci's words, Theon's choices and interventions are, in all likelihood, "strong" ones (41)—his agency is recognized and highlighted.

Perhaps more problematic is Petrucci's characterization of Theon as a Middle Platonist or a philosopher, as opposed to a scientist or "tecnico" (e.g. 40-2). It is legitimate to argue that categories such as 'Middle' Platonist, or even more, 'philosopher' in contrast to 'mathematician', did exist in antiquity, rather than simply in modern scholarship—in other words, that they were actors' categories, or, in more recent jargon, 'emic' rather than 'etic'. Nevertheless, I did not find such an argument in this volume—the definitions or characterizations of what it meant at the time, for Theon and his readers, to be a 'philosopher', rather than a 'technical expert', are taken for granted, whereas a text such as the *Expositio* would appear, in my opinion, to provide a unique opportunity to launch into an examination precisely of those categories, from a historical point of view.

As far as the edition itself is concerned, I would particularly commend Petrucci's attention to diagrams. Only rarely do we find information about the visual apparatus of an ancient work with mathematical content, and I particularly welcomed the fact that this volume often commented on what the diagrams looked like in the manuscripts, and sometimes reproduced the 'originals',

even when the 'edited' version provided spruced up and 'modernized' versions. As for the Greek, Petrucci does amend the Teubner text, but relegates his generally reasonable and lucidly justified modifications to a section called "Note to the text" (63). Thus, the Greek text printed here is the unmodified one, but, confusingly, the Italian translation is based on the modified text. Moreover, the Greek and Italian texts are printed successively, rather than side by side, and there is no indication in the Greek text of where a modification has led to a certain translation in the Italian. In sum, this volume is a very significant contribution, but cannot make a claim to reader-friendliness. Given the increasingly limited number of international scholars who can read Italian, I fear it will have a smaller audience than it deserves.

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LeVen, P.

2014. *The Many-Headed Muse: Tradition and Innovation in late Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 386 pp. Pr. \$99.00 (hb). ISBN 9781107018532.

This much awaited monograph on the late classical melic poetry bears a riddling title. As the author herself explains in the Epilogue, the image of the *Many-Headed Muse* aims to capture the diversity of the late classical melic poetry and to encompass the character of the so-called New Music that looks both backward and forward in the poetic spectrum. A valuable contribution to the currently growing scholarship on the New Music, the book is to date the sole publication that collects the poems of the late classical period (430–323 BC) and examines them in their own terms. LeVen outlines clearly in the Introduction her three aims: to re-evaluate the texts of late classical melic poetry, including inscribed poems, and to analyse them as a complete whole; to locate this poetic production within a larger historical, cultural, religious, political, and artistic context; and to study the forms of ancient reception of the late classical lyric poetry.

Chapter 1 is devoted to the surviving corpus and presents the reader with two impressive tables: Table 1 on the late fifth- and fourth-century instrumental performers, and Table 2 on poets who were successful in dithyrambic competitions. The tables justify LeVen's claims over the diversity of material attesting to song-activity: fragments are found on papyri; songs are inscribed on stone; literary sources preserve quotations, names, and biographical information. They also bring forward the generic diversity of the corpus and the geographical mobility of its representatives. LeVen further analyses the processes through which the corpus survives, in order to conclude that where survival was based on conscious selection, this was ultimately influenced by biases and agendas that reflected conservative ideology.

Chapter 2 is complementary to Chapter 1 in its attempt to encourage scholarly focus on the artistic products of late classical *mousikē* rather than on its criticism. The chapter discusses how the representation of the New Music in antiquity is framed by a socio-political discourse relevant to the decadence of society, while it is judged in moral and ethical terms. Old Comedy is the main source of information for the manner in which the novel features of the New Music are depicted, and LeVen goes through a number of passages where the New Musicians are a subject of parody. This presentation is coupled by a close reading of Timotheus' *Persians*, where it becomes evident that the rhetoric of the New Music itself offered the main key-terms for its criticism and its own reception (e.g. *kainotomia*, *poikilia*).

Chapter 3 deals with the anecdotal life of the New Music. The anecdotes, which reveal a profound engagement with the poetic text, deal in particular with moral norms, with the poet's position in society as well as with the evolution of lyric practice. The data about a poet's life are registered according to three biographical strategies: duplication of the poetic persona due to mutually contradictory information, narrativization in order to connect the poets into a large narrative framework about the evolution of *mousikē*, and condensation, where contradictions in tradition are condensed into a single person. The chapter focuses in particular on Philoxenus, and the discussion analyses his *Deipnon* and a number of anecdotes that present him in various social, economic, and aesthetic contexts.

Based on Aristophanes' parody of the rhetoric and style of the New Music, Chapter 4 discusses the language of the New Music, which, as LeVen argues, displays a high level of awareness of the poetic tradition. Its elevated and heightened diction is centred on compounds, periphrases, epithets, neologisms, and metaphors and resembles the linguistic experiments of the sophists. Based especially on an analysis of Timotheus' diction (*Cyclops* and *Persae*), LeVen concludes that the combination of traditional and innovative language activates the audience's imagination and creates an experience that relies on defamiliarization. The creation of an unfamiliar image forces the audience to engage in the process of recognition and identification. This relationship between audience, language, narrative world, and *mimēsis* is further explored in Chapter 5. Focusing on Timotheus' *Persae* and on Philoxenus' *Cyclops*, LeVen shows how intertextuality with other poems increases the engagement of the hearer and how it constructs a new type of the "subjectivity of the audience" (p. 192).

Chapters 6 and 7 draw attention to poems that have not been extensively discussed in scholarship and focus predominantly on issues of genre, narrative voice, and performance context. LeVen looks at Philoxenus' *Deipnon* (PMG 836), Aristotle's *Hymn to Virtue* (PMG 842) and Ariphron's *Hymn to Health* (PMG 813) to argue mainly in favour of the performative adaptability of songs to various cultural settings, including the theatre and the symposium (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 deals with four cultic songs that were inscribed in sanctuaries: the paeans to Asclepius and Dionysus by Isyllus and Philodamus of Scarpheas respectively, and Aristonous' hymns to Hestia and Apollo. LeVen examines the narrative strategies through which the songs reflect on their materiality as objects without abandoning the conventions of oral poetry, the manner in which they associate with their occasion and performance setting as well as engage with religious and social ritual.

The reader will be impressed by the detailed analysis of the poems as well as by the insightful engagement with other sources. LeVen explores a number of

interpretations and often does not offer only one answer to the questions she poses. While this may be frustrating at times, it challenges the reader to think and choose for himself. As the author often repeats the conclusions drawn in preceding chapters, the reader is guided carefully through the narrative. The book should be read by those interested in the evolution of Greek lyric, as it establishes how late classical lyric combined forms of tradition and innovation, and it examines carefully the performance venues and the contexts in which it existed. Unlike the disparaging judgements of ancient critics on the lyric poetry of the late fifth- and fourth-centuries BC, the publication of the first ever monograph to be devoted entirely to the late classical Greek lyric poetry deserves to be celebrated.

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### Response to A.S. Gratwick

In his recent review of my *Music in Roman Comedy* in this journal (*GRMS* 2 (2014) 214-17), A.S. Gratwick praises my chapter on the *tibia* but finds most of the rest of the book wanting. Professor Gratwick has misread or misrepresented much of the book's argument, but his review raises important questions about how we should approach ancient music.

Most of the review responds to my proposal that accompanied stichic passages in Roman comedy were sung while the *tibicen* played heterophonic accompaniment that reinforced so-called "strong" elements in metrical feet. This is an important and provocative part of my argument, so it is understandable that it would draw a reviewer's attention. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in dedicating so much of his review to trochaic septenarii, the reviewer almost completely ignores the majority of my book, including my arguments on vocal quality, dance, the effects of meters and metrical features, musical structure, and polymetry.

The review confusingly combines two separate arguments I make in the book, one regarding the nature of vocalization in stichic accompanied sections, the other on what the *tibicen* did during those sections. Gratwick objects that I treat the stichic sections, like the polymetric sections, as "just song." In fact, my arguments about vocalization are not aimed at demonstrating that all accompanied passages were sung exactly alike, but rather in rebutting the commonly held belief that the performance of accompanied stichic meters was a kind of speech. The reviewer completely misses the point in suggesting that I want everything to be "just song." I state explicitly that there are many different kinds of song, and that styles of vocalization could vary within both the accompanied and unaccompanied portions of Roman comedy. The point is that vocal performance in the stichic sections is not "just speech."

Gratwick is more interested, however, in what I argue about what the *tibicen* did during stichic passages. He claims that the kind of accompaniment I envision, in which the *tibicen* reinforced strong elements, could not be "achieved or sustained." Here he underestimates the abilities of sophisticated musicians working within a tradition in which rhythms varied far more than they do in modern Western music, and he fails to acknowledge that these musicians were seeking not the kind of correspondence demanded by modern Western practices of harmony and polyphony, but rather the freer cooperation found in heterophony. His own proposal that the *tibicen* would provide "a discontinuous backing with appropriately placed toots or formulaic phrases" contradicts much of what we know about how the *tibia* worked (see my chapter one, praised by the reviewer himself) and what our ancient sources say about

accompaniment by the *tibicen*. It should also be noted that I propose that the *tibicen* reinforced metrical elements through ornamentation, not, *pace* Gratwick, by “blowing hard.”

Gratwick objects strongly that I do not use the alphabetic notation he and others have developed for describing trochaic septenarii. The alphabetic notation is exceedingly useful in helping us understand metrical and prosodic features of iambo-trochaic verse, but its value in describing musical phenomena is limited. It takes its start from the unaccompanied iambic senarius, it does not easily account for the *tibicen* as well as the singer, and unlike my notation it is not transferable to non-iambo-trochaic meters. Readers must judge for themselves whether my numerical notation will “confuse the novice.” I think it is clearer and easier to use than the alphabetic notation.

Gratwick argues that in attempting to write for the expert and novice I am guilty of “baffling the one and delaying the other.” His primary example of this is the first twenty-one pages of my book, of which he claims, “the whole . . . should have been pruned or dropped.” Could one really write a book about music in Roman Comedy without discussing its importance, our sources, the relationship between meter and music, overtures, and interludes? Who are the experts who would not want this background? It should be noted that Plautus expert James Tatum, in a review of another book, recently described *Music in Roman Comedy* as “original and enduring” (BMCR 2014.06.52). As for non-specialists, they could not proceed without these discussions, and my narrative here and elsewhere is written in clear prose, with necessary technical features explained. T.H.M. Gellar-Goad, in a review of my book, states, “[t]he Introduction is an excellent guide to the intricacies of the subject, at a level accessible to students” (BMCR 2014.08.46).

The reviewer’s misleading criticisms of my general index deserve particular attention as an example of his failure to represent my book accurately. Claiming the index is “skimpy and mechanical,” he cites three alleged failings. The entries on diaeresis and *palliata*, he writes, are “useless.” In fact, I follow current convention in considering diaeresis a form of caesura, so my entry on diaeresis, pointing to that equation, does exactly what it needs to do: the reader can follow the entry on caesura to find each diaeresis discussed in the work. Because I do not emphasize the distinction between the *fabula palliata* and other genres, I find the English “Roman comedy” sufficient, and I make that clear in the index. Gratwick also claims that “the lemma for ‘Anapest’ has been lost, and the references misapplied to the preceding entry.” This is not true: the lemma for “anapestic” is, with the other meters, under “meters” in the general index.

Professor Gratwick reveals the core of his objections to the book when he writes that “as a performance-critic given to speculating, Moore makes suggestions as to how something might have been realized, but these can at best only be suggestions: a sorites based on a guess cannot establish a fact.” I do not claim that my surmises regarding performance are indubitable facts, but I seek to present what I see as the most plausible scenario for what musical performance was like in second-century BCE Rome. Gratwick, with his heavily positivistic approach, objects to this approach in principle. Similarly indicative of this attitude is his implied objection to my conclusion: “Moore states in a passionate coda . . . that comparisons with modern opera, the musical, or film are ‘fraught with danger,’ but goes ahead regardless.” Yes, the danger is there; but without thinking hard about just how ancient music does and does not compare to musical traditions with which we are familiar, we will never be able to understand the musical life of Greece and Rome.

Work such as Professor Gratwick himself has done in his impressive career, which relies almost entirely on provable phenomena in written texts, has brought us very far in our understanding of Roman comedy. We cannot progress further, however, unless we broaden our perspective and take greater risks.

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